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FROM THE FUND OF

GEORGE FRANCIS PARKMAN

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OF BOSTON

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ALTHORP MEMOIRS,

OR

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

LADY DENHAM, THE COUNTESS OF SHREWSBURY,
THE COUNTESS OF FALMOUTH, MRS. JENYNS, THE DUCHESS
OF TYRCONNEL, AND LUCY WALTER,

SIX LADIES WHOSE PORTRAITS ARE TO BE FOUND IN
THE PICTURE GALLERY OF HIS EXCELLENCY

EARL SPENCER, K.G., K.P.

LORD LIEUTENANT-GENERAL AND GENERAL GOVERNOR OF IRELAND.

BY

G. STEINMAN STEINMAN, ESQ., F.S.A.

Printed for Private Circulation.

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PREFACE.

THIS little volume derives its existence from a visit paid by the author to the Earl and Countess Spencer in the summer of 1864. Finding that the noble proprietors of a noble collection of portraits were much interested in the history of the personages represented, he at different times communicated to Lord Spencer such biographical memoranda in reference to several of them as had come under his notice while engaged upon his favourite occupation of hunting-up the domestic occurrences of England under the Stuarts. From these stones have been raised the house. A residence in London and better health would together have furnished him with the means of extending, in material and number, the list of memoirs. As it is, it includes only imperfect sketches—for they deserve no better name—of six handsome ladies, all more or less memorable, and—must it be said?—some more or less wicked—of this interesting

period. Although they are few in number, they have not failed to involve in considerable trouble those to whom the author's sincerest thanks are now returned—viz., George Edward Adams, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Rouge Dragon ; Albert William Woods, Esq., F.S.A., Lancaster ; Colonel Joseph Lemuel Chester ; John Pavin Phillips, Esq. ; and Francis Capper Brooke, Esq. : whilst his acknowledgments are also due to the Right Hon. Lord Talbot de Malahide, P.R.I.A., F.R.S., F.S.A. ; Colonel Myddelton-Biddulph ; Andrew Fountaine, Esq. ; the Rev. George Whitmore, M.A. ; Alfred Kingston, Esq. ; and John George Armytage, Esq., F.S.A.

Without the kind and valuable assistance of these gentlemen the MS. could never have reached a shape fitted for the compositor's hand. Transformed at length into print, the grandson of an old tenant of the house of Spencer begs permission to deposit the result of his very humble labours in the gallery of Althorp.

SUNDRIDGE, NEAR SEVENOAKS,

September 22, 1869.

The Hon. Margaret Brooke,
Lady Benham.

No. 326.

IN the conspiracy which derives its name from Sir Walter Raleigh, and for which that very celebrated man eventually forfeited his life, Henry Brooke, eighth Lord Cobham, K.G., and George, his brother, were implicated. The first obtained a pardon so far as his life was concerned; the second, on December 5, 1603, fell at Winchester by the axe, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. On the scaffold, all too late, he in pathetic terms deplored the fate of his wife and children. His words, uttered in the presence of Doctor Anthony Watson, Bishop of Chichester, and Sir Benjamin Tichborne, Knt., the High Sheriff, "after a still kind of fashion, with a very low voice and cheerefull countenance by very few heard," were, as we have them preserved for us by Stowe, as follows: "That he would neither excuse nor accuse any more, for any matter of Treason or practices against the King or State,

but he did assuredly hope that in time it would be known unto the world, manifestly discovered, and that he died free and innocent from any action worthy of death, and would not by any meanes seeme to acknowledge himself guilty; he desired the gentlemen and those by him to be witnesse to his last Will and Testament, wherein, since his last act had bereft him of all goods and lands where withall he might benefite his beloved and deare wife and children, he had nothing left to bequeath them but only his earnest prayers to the Almighty to blesse and prosper them, which he did then earnestly offer up unto Him in the sight and hearing of them all.

“He said to die it did not grieve him, neither was it in any sort fearfull unto him, onely his greatest care was that he should leave his wife and children by his act wholly destitute and unprovided^a.”

The lady this unhappy gentleman. married was Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Thomas, fifth Lord Borough, K.G., and sister and co-

^a Stowe's *Annales*, 1631, f. 831, where, by a misprint, the Bishop of Winchester is named. Vide Hardwick's *State Papers*, i. f. 377.

heir of Robert the last lord^b; his children were William, Elizabeth, and Frances, and the estate which his treason had deprived his family of was the manor, castle, park, and advowson of Cooling, in Kent. On the death of Lord Cobham, *s.p.* January 24, 1618-19, William Brooke would have succeeded to the title had it not been for the attainders, as he had then become his heir. In 1609, seven years before this event, he was with his sisters restored in blood, but with the proviso that he was "not to enjoy the title of Lord Cobham without the King's special grace^c," a favour never accorded to him. On April 5, 1610, on the death *s.p.* of Charles Brooke, Esq., brother and heir of Duke Brooke, Esq., he succeeded by heirship to the forfeited estate of his father, which had been sold, *inter alia*, by the King, November 11, 1604, to the said Duke^d. At the same time, and through the same course, he inherited

^b His marriage was on the *tapis* January 17, 1597-8. Vide John Chamberlain's Letters, 1861, ff. 40, 41. (Camden Soc. pub.)

^c Act of Parliament, 7 James I. c. 18.

^d Pat. 2 James I. pt. 3. Hasted, in error, says King James restored Cooling to William Brooke in his infancy; vide History of Kent, 1778-99, i. f. 539.

the manors of Cobham and Temple Stroud, in Kent; the former, as well as Cooling in part, subject to a lease for life, granted by the Crown to Frances, wife of the attainted lord, to commence on the day of her husband's death*. A few days anterior to the coronation of Charles I. (February 2, 1625-6) he obtained the distinction of a K.B. In the Parliament held March 16, 3 Charles I., 1628, he was returned burgess for Rochester, and before August 19, 1630, he had married his first wife, Pembroke, daughter of Henry Lennard, first Lord Dacre of that family, the mother of his daughter of this very singular christian name. The second wife of Sir William Brooke, was Penelope, daughter of Sir Moyses Hill, Knt., of Hillsborough, co. Down, M.P. for Antrim, 1613, and Provost-Marshal of the Province of Ulster, April 14, 1617, and by her he had three daughters, Hill, another singular christian name, Margaret, and Francis. His death occurred "in the Parliamentary service at Newbery," September 30, 1643^f.

* Pat. 2 James I. pt. 14, May 13. She was buried in Westminster Abbey, July 11, 1628.

^f Segar, Baronage, MS. Coll. Arm., i. f. 174; and an old draft of

Of his family it is Margaret, whose life, of few years and of few events, furnishes a memoir to the Althorp Catalogue of paintings. She must have been born in or about 1642, and therefore an infant when her father died. A few years after the death of this parent, her mother, who was living a widow, 21 Charles I., 1645-6⁸, formed a second matrimonial engagement with the Hon. Edward Russell, fourth son of Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, and in due time increased her family by giving birth to five sons, William, Edward, John, Francis, and James, and two daughters, Letitia and Catherine. We have not the information necessary to state where this lady resided during her marriages, or where her children were born. She died November 7, 1661, and the place of her burial, like that of her first husband, is unknown.

"the title in the manor of Westcliffe," co. Kent, *penes* Francis Capper Brooke, Esq. of Ufford Place, Suffolk, give the year; a letter from Colonel Thomlinson, Sir William's son-in-law, dated Dublin, December 17, 1656, the place. Rawlinson's MSS. xlv. f. 192. He may have died after the battle, from a wound received in it. On turning to Rushworth (v. f. 294), we find mention of "one Drake, of Sir William Brooks," being recovered, but no notice of his death. He was not buried at Newbury.

■ Segar, i. f. 174.

Nobly descended co-heirs of the forfeited barony of Cobham and of the baronies of Braye and Borough, of great personal charms, and possessed of some fortune, Margaret and Frances Brooke, two of the four orphans, were found by Gramont^b, on his arrival in England (1663), shining amongst the beauties of the greatest reputation who then adorned the gay circle at Whitehall. Although the young ladies were in this manner personally known to the King, George, Earl of Bristolⁱ, the husband of Lady Anne, sister to their step-father, determined to bring them more prominently under the royal notice, and this with the hope, which a man of his disordered mind could see no impropriety in, of strengthening the hold he had upon the King's good favour through the blandishments of a Circe. He therefore contrived, to use Lord Clarendon's words, "such meetings and jollities^k" at his house as Charles was known to be pleased with, and at entertainments of luxury and elegance offered the monarch frequent opportunities of looking more

^b *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, 1811, tome i. 123. ⁱ No. 316.

^k Continuation of the Life of Clarendon, 1759, f. 208.

closely upon enchantresses formed by nature to excite love in others while susceptible of it themselves. The preference seems to have been given to Margaret, when another enchantress—the Lady Castlemaine—interposed her watchfulness, and compelled by it the Earl to lay aside his projects and Miss Brooke her advances¹.

The Duke of York then advanced his pretensions to the lady, who received them with a certain degree of compliance only^m, as, with an unblemished reputation, after an interval which allowed her royal lover's fire to burn down, she, in Westminster Abbey, on May 25, 1665, made happy Sir John Denham, K.B., Surveyor-General of His Majesty's works, soldier, gamester, and poet, residing in Scotland-yard, St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, with a country seat at Waltham-Cross, Essex. The author of "Cooper's Hill," at this time in his fiftieth year, limpingⁿ and using a crutch^o, thus obtained for

¹ *Mémoires du Comte de Grammont*, tome ii. 80, 81.

^m *Ibid*

ⁿ "A Session of the Poets." *State Poems*, 1703, f. 210.—Aubrey, *Letters and Lives*, ii. f. 319.

^o Butler, "A Panegyrick upon Sir John Denham's Recovery from his Madness."

a second wife "a very beautiful young lady" of twenty-three^p. Six days preceding the marriage a royal warrant had conferred upon the bride, in common with her two sisters of the whole blood, the precedence of a baron's daughter^q.

Before a year could be counted from the marriage-day, Lady Denham appeared before the public as the mistress of her old lover, the Duke of York. On June 10, 1666, Pepys was informed by Pierce, the king's serjeant surgeon, and, it may be added, court newsmonger, "that the Duke of York is wholly given up to his new mistress, my Lady Denham, going at noon-day, with all his gentlemen with him, to visit her in Scotland-yard; she declaring that she will not be his mistress, as Mrs. Price, to go up and down the privy-stairs, but will be owned publicly; and so she is." This connection, the diarist was informed, was arranged through the Hon. Henry Brouncker, one of the Duke's grooms of the bed-chamber, and Lady Castlemaine. We have seen Barbara the pro-

^p Hamilton greatly enlarges the difference between the ages of bride and bridegroom; the one he makes 79, the other 18. Tome ii. 82.

^q Warrant Book, January 24, 1664-5, to December 26, 1665, Public Record Office.

tectress of innocence : she had now a different goal to reach. There was a falling-out between the King and her, and she too sought, like my Lord of Bristol, to gain her object, the Duke of York's friendship, by the aid of a Circe, and the selfsame one.

In the noon of September 26, Pepys saw Lady Denham at Whitehall, and again at night in the drawing-room there, with the Lady Castlemaine and several other fine ladies, "the Duke of York taking her aside and talking to her in the sight of all the world." Present also was "good Mr. Evelyn, who cries out against it, and calls it bickering ; for the Duke of York talks a little to her, and then she goes away, and then he follows her again like a dog." On October 8 the Duke was "wholly given up to his Lady Denham," and on the 13th of the same month his pleasures were presided over by Diana as well as Venus, for "his woman, my Lady Denham," shared his company with the stag, he "hunting three times a-week." On the 15th, Mr. Colvill, the goldsmith, informed Pepys that the Duke had become a slave to her, "that Sir W. Coventry is in the

caball with the Duke of York and [Lord] Brouncker, with this Lady Denham," and "that Sir W. Coventry do with her visit." Scarcely a month after this, on November 10, Pepys hears "that my Lady Denham is exceedingly sick, even to death, and that she says, and every body else discourses, that she is poisoned." Two days later he was informed that she was "upon the mending hand, though the town says she is dead this morning." On December 12, when dining at Captain Cocke's, he heard "that the Duke of York do not haunt my Lady Denham so much, that she troubles him with matters of state, being of my Lord of Bristoll's faction, and that he avoids; that she is ill still." She does not appear at any time to have recovered from her illness, and on Sunday, January 6, 1666-7, the poor lady died. On the 7th Pepys mentions her for the last time: "Lord Brouncker tells me that my Lady Denham is at last dead. Some suspect her poisoned, but it will be best known when her body is opened to-day, she dying yesterday morning. The Duke of York is troubled for her, but hath declared he will never have ano-

ther public mistress again." The surgeon only followed her own instruction in the application of his knife. "My Lady Denham's body," writes the Earl of Orrery to the Duke of Ormond from Charleville, January 25, 1666-7, "at her own desire, was opened, but no sign of poison found^r."

Lady Denham had told the Duke of York that she was poisoned^a, but we do not know who she suspected of the crime. Hamilton says it was charged to her husband, and that "la populace de son quartier tint conseil pour le lapider, dès qu'il sortiroit; mais il se tint renfermé pour pleurer la mort de sa femme, jusqu'à ce que leur fureur fut apaisée par un enterrement magnifique, dans lequel il fit distribuer au peuple quatre fois plus de vin brûlé, qu'on n'en avoit bû dans aucun enterrement en Angleterre^t." "A Key to Count Grammont's Memoirs," 1715 (the year after the first edition of

^r Orrery's State Papers, 1742, f. 219.

^a Pepys, November 12.

^t Mémoires, tome ii. 113, 114. It will be observed that we have rejected one of Hamilton's histories. *Lady Denham* could not have discovered and made known to the Earl of Chesterfield the intrigue of his lady with the Duke of York, and *Miss Brooke* was not very likely to do so. The Earl knew of it before January 1, 1662-3. Vide Pepys, under this date.

that work), says, "the Duchess of York was strongly suspected of having poisoned her with powder of diamonds," whilst Andrew Marvell, in "The last Instructions to a Painter, about the Dutch Wars, 1667," when describing how he would have the Duchess' portrait, says,

"Express her studying now, if China clay
Can without breaking, venom'd juice convey,
Or how a mortal poison she may draw
Out of the cordial meal of the cocoa."

And further on, when referring to her royal highness's father,

"What frosts to fruits, what arsenick to the rat,
What to fair Denham mortal chocolat."

In "Clarendon's House-Warming," of the same date, and written by the same author, we have another allusion to Lady Denham's death :

"Thus daily his gouty inventions he pain'd
And all for to save the expences of brickbat,
That engine so fatal, which Denham had brain'd
And too much resembled his wife's chocolat."

We have only to add to these slanders the assertion of Aubrey^u, which is likely to remain

^u Letters and Lives, ii. f. 319.

a puzzle, that "she was poisoned by the hands of the Co. of Roc. with chocolate."

The mistress, following the example placed before her by the Lady Castlemaine, had aspired to the office of Lady of the Bed-chamber (*dame du palais*) to the wife. She was, by the Duke's importunity, who had before him the example of the King, about to obtain the object of her desire, when death relieved the Duchess from this new insult^v. Her remains were, on January 9, carried from Scotland-yard to the Church of St. Margaret, Westminster, where, in the middle chancel, they rest beneath a stone which bears no record of the dead.

Her husband, whose temporary distemper of madness is attributed by Aubrey^w to his wife's misconduct, survived her little more than two years. In these pages we will not attempt his biography. His epitaph may be read, where his body lies entombed, in Westminster Abbey^x, and his portrait, engraved by Le Goux for both Harding's and White's "Grammont," may

^v Mémoires du Grammont, tome ii. 111, 112.

^w Letters and Lives, ii. f. 319.

^x His monumental inscription terminates his life on March 28, 1668. The register of burials places him in the earth on March 23, 1668-9.

be seen in the gallery of the Earl of Chesterfield.

There are several portraits of Lady Denham. That at Althorp, introduced into the gallery there most probably by the Earl of Bristol, has been engraved in stipple for the *Ædes Althorpiantæ* by Freeman. It is a three-quarter length by Lely, who represents the lady standing in a park, habited in an amber-colored gown and light blue mantle, with her right hand resting upon an urn. Another three-quarter portrait by the same great painter is at Hampton Court. Lady Denham is here seated in a chair. Her dress is amber-colored satin. She holds a basket of flowers in her lap, and behind her chair is a curtain and an open window shewing country scenery. This portrait has been engraved in stipple by Wright for Mrs. Jameson's "Beauties of the Court of Charles II.," and, as a half-length, by Scriven, for Carpenter's "Grammont." At Chirk Castle is a three-quarter length, by Lely, which has never been engraved. The lady, in a light blue satin dress, over her right shoulder and under her left arm, with a necklace of pearls round

her neck and also above her right shoulder, falling to her waist, is represented standing. Her right arm rests on a slab, or pedestal, and in her left hand is a wand. The portrait engraved in stipple by Le Goux for Harding's, and by Bocquet for White's, "Grammont," "from an original painting in the possession of Sir Brook Boothby, Bart.," and that engraved in mezzotinto by Turner, 1811, "from an original miniature in the possession of Henry Constantine Jennings, Esq.," can no longer be referred to. The gallery at Ashbourn was denuded of its paintings before the sale of the estate, and Mr. Jennings found himself compelled to part with his collection in his lifetime. Lady Denham was fair, and her hair light brown.

We have before shewn that the subject of this memoir had sisters and brothers. Pembroke became the wife of Colonel Mathew Thomlinson⁷, M.P. in Cromwell's Parliament of July 4, 1653, and a "Lord" of his other house, January 20, 1657-8, one also of the 135 Commissioners appointed to try Charles I., and died June 10, 1683, leaving two daugh-

⁷ Visitation of Yorkshire, 1666.

ters^a. Her husband died November 5, 1681, and as their monumental inscriptions are found in the church of East Malling, co. Kent, it is to be supposed they were residing at the time of their deaths in the mansion of Bradbourn, the seat of the Colonel's brother-in-law, Sir Thomas Twisden, Bart., a Judge of the Court of King's Bench, where his portrait, by Mytens, still hangs in the gallery^a.

The Hon. Hill married, at Chiswick, April 6, 1657, Sir William Boothby, second baronet of Ashbourn, co. Derby, and dying May 14, 1704, aged sixty-four, lies buried at Ashbourn with her husband, who died March 24, 1706. From this couple, who had ten children, the present baronet is descended.

^a Jane, who married Philip Owen, Esq., of the Middle Temple, and of Maidstone, co. Kent, and died *s.p.*, and Elizabeth, of Maidstone, who died unmarried. Mr. Owen was buried at St. Margaret's, Westminster, April 10, 1699; his widow, February 16, 1703-4. The will of Miss Thomlinson was proved September 8, 1692.

^a Noble, *Lives of the English Regicides*, ii. ff. 277-9, says he died in obscurity, "probably in Yorkshire." He was born at York. Although present when the king received his sentence, he was only so, according to his evidence, in charge of his prisoner, whom he delivered up to Colonel Hacker on the morning of his execution. Howel's *State Trials*, vol. iv. col. 1137.

The Hon. Frances, alluded to in "Grammont," married, first, Sir Thomas Whitmore, of Buildwas, co. Salop, and of St. Paul's, Covent-garden, second son of Sir Thomas Whitmore, first baronet, of Apley Park, in the parish of Stockton, co. Salop, who was created a K.B. April 19, 1661. Sir Thomas was buried at St. Paul's May 21, 1682. By this husband, Frances Brooke had three daughters^b. Her second hus-

^b Elizabeth, the eldest, was baptized at Stockton, November 4, 1665, and buried there, April 4, in the year following.

Frances, the second, born November 7, 1666, baptized at Stockton on the 9th, after being formally contracted, under a licence from the Archbishop of Canterbury, August 26, 1675, to her cousin William, son and heir of William Whitmore, Esq., of Balmes, in Hackney, a curious old house, pulled down about fifteen years since, was married to him in the church of that parish November 27, 1679. She, baptized at Hackney, November 25, 1665, was then only thirteen, he one year older. This connection endured but a few years, and ended tragically. In July, 1684, Mr. Whitmore, returning in his chariot from Epsom with a loaded pistol lying by his side, by some mischance received its contents in his leg. Being thus "brought in danger of his life," he, on the 31st of that month, in all likelihood the day of the accident and of his death, made his will, leaving everything to his wife. On the 4th of the following month the lady proved her husband's will, after, we hope and believe, she had laid his remains with those of his father in the chancel of Ramsey Church, Essex. For the particulars of the death and burial of Mr. Whitmore vide "The History and Antiquities of Harwich and Dovercourt," by Samuel Dale, 1730, f. 207, Appendix, f. 449. He was the last of four generations of his name who resided at Balmes. Within nine months of the sad event here spoken of the young widow found a second husband in Sir Richard

band was Mathew Harvey, Esq., of Twickenham, co. Middlesex, brother of Sir Eliab Harvey, Knt., of Chigwell, co. Essex, cousin-german to Sir Daniel Harvey, Knt., of Cambridge, and nephew to the great physician, who died January 14, 1693-4, *s.p.* She was buried at Twickenham, in the grave which afterwards received the remains of Mr. Harvey, May 15, 1690, and on the monument erected by him to her me-

Myddelton, third baronet of Chirk Castle, M.P. for Denbighshire thirty-two years, nephew to Mrs. Myddelton's husband, to whom she gave her hand in Twickenham Church, April 19, 1685. She died June 24, 1694, æt. 28, and Sir Richard, April 9, 1716, at. 62, and they both lie buried at Chirk under a splendid monument erected by their only daughter. The issue of this lady failed with her children. She was a beauty, and her portrait, by Kneller, a full length, at Hampton Court, has been engraved in mezzotinto by Savage, size 1 ft. 8 in. by 1 ft. 2 in. In her widowhood she appears to have had in her chains Edward, Viscount Cornbury, afterwards third Earl of Clarendon—"twice jilted Co——ry." ("Letter to C——W.," State Poems, 1703, ii. f. 146).

"The next fine widdow Whitmore she,
Is told of gentle Corn——;
But the sly wight secur'd the Prey,
And flying bore the Nymph away."

("Madam Le Croy," State Poems, ii. f. 156).

Dorothy, the third, wife of Jonathan Langley, Esq., of the Abbey, Shrewsbury, High-Sheriff of Shropshire 1689, was baptized at Stockton, May 10, 1668, and died in 1688. Mr. Langley was buried at the Abbey, September 14, 1701, *s.p.*

mory in the church there is the well-known poetical epitaph from the pen of Dryden :

“ Fair, kind, and true, a treasure each alone,
A wife, a mistress, and a friend in one,
Rest in this tomb, rais'd at thy husband's cost,
Here sadly summing what he had and lost.

Come, Virgins, ere in equal bands ye join,
Come first, and offer at her sacred shrine ;
Pray but for half the virtues of this wife,
Compound for all the rest, with longer life ;
And wish your vows, like hers, may be return'd,
So lov'd when living, and when dead so mourn'd.

“ J. D.”

These very beautiful lines, securing immortality to the deceased, supply the place of a name and date. It was enough that the sorrowing husband knew both her name and the day when he was deprived of one who, as described by the great poet, was a treasure indeed. The monument itself consists of an urn of veined marble standing upon a pedestal, which on each side bears a shield containing the arms of Harvey impaling Brooke. On the back of the pedestal, as also on the right side, is an inscription recording the death of Mr. Harvey. When the church was restored the monument was removed from its original site,

the north-east corner of the chancel, to the head of one-pair of the gallery-stairs^c.

There are portraits also of Lady Whitmore. The three-quarter one at Hampton Court, by Lely, presents us with a lady sitting upon a bank, with trees in the background. Her right hand rests upon the bank, her left holds up her dress of dark lavender against her bosom. A replica of this painting is at Chirk Castle, and another at Narford Hall, the last inscribed, "Lady Anne Hamilton, Countess of Southesk^d." It has been engraved in mezzotinto by Watson, 1779, plate 1 ft. 8 in. by

^c Mr. Harvey, in his will, dated November 1, 1693, proved January 15 following, desires to be buried under his pew, adjoining to his wife's grave and coffin, his head to her feet, at a cost not exceeding £150. He leaves £100 to the poor of Twickenham, on condition that the parish keep in repair the monument he had erected for himself and wife. His love for her was as it should be, and one of his reasons for leaving his estate to his housekeeper is found in her diligent care of her in her sickness. We are enabled to give a description of the monument erected by Mr. Harvey, and the circumstances connected with it, through the kindness of the Rev. Richard S. Cobbett, M.A., curate of Twickenham.

^d Horace Walpole had a copy of this portrait made in crayons, which Claessens engraved from. He informed Granger of its existence at Narford Hall. (*Biog. Hist. of England*, Sup., 1774, f. 546.) Mrs. Jameson chooses to infer (*Beauties*, 1838, ii. f. 77), that both Walpole and Granger acknowledged it an authentic portrait of Lady Southesk,

1 ft. 2 in. ; by Hall, in stipple, for Mrs. Jame-son, as the Countess of Southesk ; by Claessens, for Harding's, and by Bocquet for White's, "Grammont," under the name of the Countess ; and by Scriven, both as this lady and as Lady Whitmore, for Carpenter's edition. The four last engravings are of half-lengths. Shineker and Bocquet have also engraved for Harding and White a half-length of Lady Whitmore, "from an original in the possession of Sir Brook Boothby, Bart." Colonel Myddelton-Biddulph, has a half-length of Lady Whitmore, taken three months before her death. A mezzotinto, engraved by Trye, 1762, size 20 in. by 14 in., lettered "Frances Brooke, Lady Whitmore," and overlooked by both Bromley and Granger, represents a lady who may have reached the age of twenty-five. She wears a close cap, beneath which her hair is confined, pearl drop earrings, round her neck a ruff, tied in front with a bow of ribbon. Her dress is low, but over it, and concealing her shoulders, is a tippet, or cloak, the ermine collar of which she holds between the thumb and first finger of her right hand. It does not resemble the other portraits

of her, nor is the dress such as was worn in 1670. Lady Whitmore had dark hair.

We now come to the Russells, half-brothers and sisters to Lady Denham. William, eldest son of the Hon. Edward Russell, was standard-bearer in the first regiment of Foot-guards, commanded by his uncle, Colonel the Hon. John Russell^c. He,—the very youthful lover of Mrs. Myddelton,—on March 30, 1665, was, with the relative here named, Henry O'Brien, Lord Ibrackan, and this lord's brother-in-law, Charles, Duke of Richmond and Lenox, K.G., committed to the Tower "for fighting contrary to His Majesty's laws'." He died unmarried, and was buried at Chenies, July 18, 1674^d.

The second, Edward, born in 1653, was the well-known naval commander, the conqueror at La Hogue, and only Earl of Orford of his

^c No. 239. This portrait should appear in a new illustrated edition of "Grammont," in place of that of William Lord Russell, and the age of the Colonel should be reduced from "full sixty" to "full forty" years. *Mémoires*, tome ii. 26.

^d In our memoir of Mrs. Myddelton, ff. 27, 46, we have given the rank of Colonel to this gentleman. It is certain, however, that he never attained to it.

^e Bayley's *Hist. and Antiq. of the Tower of London*, 1821, f. 625.

name. He has earned for himself a right to a separate biography^h.

The third, fourth, and fifth, are recorded to have died *s.p.*, probably in infancy.

Letitia, their eldest sister, born in 1650, married, first, Colonel Thomas Cheke, of Pyrigo Park, Havering, Essex, Lieutenant of the Tower, who died April 13, 1688, having had issue by her, three sons and two daughters. Her second husband was her cousin, Lord Robert Russell, Clerk of the Pipe, sixth son of William, first Duke of Bedford, K.G., by whom she had no children. Colonel Cheke was buried in the chapel at Pyrigo Park; Lord Robert, on July 31, 1703, at Chenies, where her ladyship's remains were also carried. Her death took place January 8, 1721-2, at the age of seventy-two.

Catherine, youngest of the sisters, married Captain William Harbord, of Pury Park, Paulerspury, co. Northampton, M.P. for Harwich in the Parliament which met May 8, 1661,

^h Lord Orford appears to have had a first wife unknown to the Peerages. On May 13, 1693, was buried at Chenies, William, son of the Right Hon. Edward Russell, Esq., and on July 12, 1694, the Right Hon. the wife of the Right. Hon. Edward Russell. The father and husband was at the time a P.C.

second son of Sir Charles Harbord, Knt., Surveyor-General of the Navy, whose office he succeeded to, and died August 19, 1702, leaving issue a daughter. Her husband died July 31, 1692, at Belgrade. Mrs. Harbord was buried at Chenies, August 28.

Their father's death occurred September 21, 1665, and his remains rest, with those of his sons William and Edward and his daughters, in the family vault.

Lady Anna-Maria Brudenell, Countess of Shrewsbury.

No. 204.



HOEVER looks upon the portrait of Anna-Maria, Countess of Shrewsbury, will express no surprise on reading her history. A lady she was, celebrated for her singular powers of fascination, the great freedom of her conduct, and the several tragedies she occasioned. She has supplied the painter—although as yet without avail—with glorious subjects for his pencil; for where, indeed, could have been found for him more graphic scenes than those, hereafter mentioned, which occurred at Mortlake and on the highway from St. James's-park to Hammersmith.

Anna-Maria, eldest daughter of Robert Brudenell, second Earl of Cardigan, was married at St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, on January 10, 1658-9, to Francis Talbot, eleventh Earl of Shrewsbury, a widower, and the ceremony was performed according to an act passed in the Parliament which met on July 4, 1653, by

a Justice of the Peace, one Peter Bradshaw, Esq. On the arrival of Grammont in England he found her a beauty among the beauties of the court, with many lovers. Earliest in the throng he places Richard, Earl of Arran, who was not the last, he adds, to leave her. She had then already commenced her career in more ways than one. (In the year preceding his arrival, two of her lovers, Captain Thomas Howard, brother to 'Charles, first Earl of Carlisle, of the first regiment of Foot-guards, afterwards a Colonel in the army and a Lieutenant in the Life-guards, and Henry Jermyn, master-of-the-horse to the Duke, afterwards Lord Dover, had met on her account in mortal combat. The particular offence was given by the latter to the former at the Spring-garden, a place of public amusement at Vauxhall, where Howard was entertaining the lady. Jermyn, knowing of the appointment, intruded himself upon the party, and whilst gaining the soft looks of the fair one, availed himself of the opportunity, to abuse both the viands and the music. These pre-meditated offences led to a challenge and a meeting, which was an accidental one, at the

old Pall-Mall in St. James's, on August 18, 1662^a. The second of Howard was Colonel the Hon. Cary Dillon, afterwards fifth Earl of Roscommon; that of Jermyn, Colonel Giles Rawlings, Privy-purse to the Duke of York. In this encounter Rawlings—himself the slayer in a duel of the first Lord Ashburnham's father^b—was killed by his friend Dillon, and Jermyn received three wounds at the hand of Howard.

The next lover mentioned by Hamilton is Henry Killigrew^c, at the time a groom of the

^a Pepys, August 19. Vide also Rugge's Diurnal, Addit. MS., Brit. Mus., 10,116, 10,117, under August 18. "This Captain Howard," says Rugge, "was unfortunate since the return of his Maj^{ty} in killing a horse-courser man in St. Giles."

^b Nicholls's British Compendium, i. f. 534; Thurloe's State Papers, vii. f. 509. William Ashburnham, Esq., was buried at Ashburnham, August 31, 1656.

^c The annotators of "Grammont" have never discovered that the Killigrew of Count Hamilton is the son of Thomas, and not Thomas himself; and by their error the portrait of the latter has been intruded into the illustrated editions of that work. Henry, eldest son of Thomas Killigrew, Esq., a groom of the bed-chamber to Charles II., and Master of the Revels, was born April 9, and baptized at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, April 16, 1637. He was a groom of the bed-chamber to the Duke of York (1656), then of the King (1662), again of the Duke (1666), and again of the King (1679), and married Lady Mary Savage, daughter of John, second Earl Rivers, a maid of the Privy-chamber to the Queen in 1662, and had by her James, who died *s.p.*, but when he died is unknown. He was certainly living in 1694, when he held his father's place of Master of the Revels, an office he was by nature pre-eminently

King's bed-chamber. This graceless son of Tom the jester, obtained a place in the list a few months after the celebration of the Duke of Monmouth's nuptials. As the Duke married April 20, 1663, we have the year of an adventure which was soon to be followed by another, involving in it no less a person than the graceless Zimri, and of a more lasting nature than any of its precursors.

Having at length tired out her easy husband's patience by her numerous intrigues—among her lovers must be accounted Dick Tal-

qualified to adorn, and died in 1700, when it had devolved on his brother Charles. He is heard of in Clarke's *Life of James II.*, i. ff. 279, 292, under September 13, 1656, and January 10, 1656-7; and in Pepys under October 20, 1666, July 20, 1667, and May 30, 1668. His name also appears in "Queries and Answers from Garraway's Coffee House" (circa 1667), printed in the edition of *Poems on Affairs of State of 1704*, iii. f. 76; and in Bromley's *Royal Letters*, f. 206 (letter from the Elector Charles Louis to the Queen of Bohemia, July 21, 1660), he is thus spoken of, "He will never leave lying as long as his tongue can wag;" and by Lord Rochester in his "Satyr Unmuzzled." According to Pulman, *MS. Coll. Arm.*, H. xiv. f. 233, he married, secondly, a maid-servant to his first wife, by whom he had Henry, a Major of Dragoons, 1707; and thirdly, another servant, by whom he had Thomas, an Ensign or Lieutenant. These two marriages are, however, queried. Thomas, youngest son of Harry, was a Gentleman of the bed-chamber to George II., when Prince of Wales, and author of a comedy called "Chit-chat." He was buried at Kensington, July 21, 1719. Harry Killigrew takes a very prominent place in the *Mémoires du Grammont*; vide tome ii. 70, 71, 145—150, 189—194, for three cleverly-told tales of him.

bot^d—a duel followed between the Earl and the Duke of Buckingham, whose mistress she had long been. This meeting took place at Barnes Elms, in the parish of Mortlake, on January 16, 1667-8^e, and it is said, on the authority of Horace Walpole, that, in the disguise of a page, she held her gallant's horse, and was a witness of the combat^f. The Earl came into the field attended by Sir John Talbot, a captain in the first Foot-guards, a gentleman of the Privy-chamber, and M.P. for Knaresborough, in later days a colonel of horse, and by the Hon. Bernard Howard, another military officer, who died a colonel in the army, a younger son to Henry Frederick, Earl of Arundell; the Duke, by Major and Captain, afterwards Vice-Admiral Sir Robert, Holmes, M.P. for Winchester, and by Captain William Jenkins. From Pepys we learn that the Earl was "run through the body, from the right breast through the shoulder, and Sir John Talbot all along up one of his armes, and Jenkins killed upon the place, and the rest all, in a measure, wounded." Exactly two

^d *Mémoires du Grammont*, tome ii. 136.

^e Pepys, January 17.

^f *Royal and Noble Authors*, 1759, ii. f. 82.

months after the duel the Earl died of his wound, and before as many more had passed away the Duke carried the widowed Countess to his house. On their arrival there the Duchess informed her husband that it was not possible that she and the Countess could live under the same roof[§]. "Why, madam, I did not think so," said he, "and therefore have ordered your coach to be ready to carry you to your father's." "A devilish speech," very properly adds Pepys when recording this anecdote under May 15.

Henry Killigrew, whose fortune it was to be ever offending some one, at length began to talk loudly of his old intimacy with the Countess, but not with impunity. On the evening of May 18, 1669, when on his way from the Duke of York's apartments at St. James's in a hackney-coach towards his house at Turnham-green, he was set upon by footmen, and wounded in nine places, the Lady Shrewsbury being by in

[§] The Duchess's conduct, in this instance, does not agree with the character given of her by the Countess of Dunois, who says she "had complaisance enough to entertain his mistresses, and even to lodge them in her house."—*Memoirs of the Court of England in the reign of King Charles II.*, 1708, f. 11.

her coach with six horses. This outrage was done at her instigation, and with the knowledge of her paramour. Had not Killigrew ran at his assailants with his sword he might have escaped with a beating, and his man, who drew in his master's defence, with his life.

In the burial-register of Westminster Abbey, under date March 12, 1670-1, is the following curious entry :--“ A young male child was layd in the Duke of Buckingham's vault, being related to that family.” It can be explained by a reference to Andrew Marvell. In a letter dated August 9, 1671, and addressed by him to a friend in Persia, he says, “ Buckingham runs out all with the Lady Shrewsbury, whom he believes he had a son [by], to whom the king stood godfather : it died young, Earl of Coventry, and was buried in the sepulchre of his fathers^h.” Under the preceding May, King James II. has in his Journal the following singular piece of intelligence bearing upon Marvell's letter :—“ Buckingham” (but with this we have nothing to do) “endeavours to set both houses by the ears. The report of his mar-

^h Works, 1776, i. f. 406.

riage" (here is the matter we refer to) "with the Countess of Salop, by Dr. Sprat¹, his chaplain. He owned it; and the true Duchess was called, in raillery, the Duchess Dowager¹." If the Countess had been the "true Duchess," her child, "buried in the sepulchre of his fathers," would have been Earl of Coventry.

On October 21 this year Evelyn went from Euston to Newmarket, where he found "ye jolly blades racing, dauncing, feasting, and revelling, more resembling a luxurious and abandon'd rout, than a Christian country. The Duke of Buckingham was now in mighty favour, and had with him that impudent woman, the Countess of Shrewsbury, with his band of fiddlers, &c." Her influence over the versatile Duke long continued, for on February 6, 1673, the House of Lords ordered him to cease conversing or cohabiting with her for the future, and required each to "enter into security to the King's Majesty in the sum of ten thousand pounds apiece for that purpose^k."

¹ Thomas Sprat, D.D., afterwards the well-known Bishop of Rochester.

¹ Macpherson's Original Papers, 1776, i. f. 58.

^k Lords' Journals, xii. f. 628.

The Countess lived to take another husband. About the year 1680 she joined her fate to that of George Rodney Bridges, Esq., fourth born son of Sir Thomas Bridges, Knight, of Keynsham, co. Somerset, and of Avington, co. Hants. He was a groom of the bed-chamber to Charles II., was seated at Avington, and represented Winchester in Parliament from 1701 to 1713. She died April 20, 1702¹, and four days after her remains were laid in the church wherein she had given her hand to her first husband. On September 9, 1713, Mr. Bridges was buried in the same grave. During the life of the Earl she was the mother of two sons—Charles, born on July 24, 1660, the only Duke of Shrewsbury, and John. The tragedies to be mentioned in connection with this lady have not yet been all told. Her second and third sons

¹ She is introduced into "Cullen with his Flock of Misses," 1679, (State Poems, 1703, i. f. 133,) as one of the competitors for the Duchess of Portsmouth's place, but in such words as will not admit of quotation. The couplet of Pope's (Moral Essays, Epistle iii.) has been quoted often enough already. The Cliveden of the Duke of Buckingham's creation is no doubt alluded to in it; but that magnificent pile could not have furnished "wanton Shrewsbury" with a "bower," as the workmen were engaged upon it in 1680 (Memoir of Mrs. Myddelton, f. 36), when she had become a second time a wife.

met with untimely deaths. John Talbot was killed in a duel by Henry, first Duke of Grafton, K.G., February 2, 1685, when within five or six days of his majority. By Mr. Bridges she had one only child, of his first Christian name, who represented Winchester in Parliament from 1713 to his death, and succeeded to the large property of his family on the death of his uncle in 1728, when he became of Keynsham as well as of Avington. He married Ann, daughter of Alderman Sir Joseph Woolf, of Hackney, Knt., Sheriff of London, 1704, and was found drowned in his canal at Avington on May 13, 1751. Suffering from paralysis, and aged seventy-two, he lost his life, it is supposed, in the endeavour to save that of his favorite dog. His wife survived him until January 27, 1763, and a tablet in the chancel of Avington Church simply records their names, their ages, and their deaths. With Mr. Bridges—Charles, Duke of Shrewsbury, K.G., having died *s.p.*—the issue of this very memorable Messalina failed.

The Countess of Shrewsbury was an adherent of the dethroned James II. ; and on October 16, 1693, at the time when James was endea-

vouring to persuade Louis XIV. into an invasion of England, his ex-majesty signed his instructions to her directing her dealings with the Earls of Danby, Marlborough, and Shrewsbury, the Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Russell^m. In the April of the following year she received a visit, in common with the three last-mentioned personages, from Captain David Lloyd, a groom of King James's bed-chamber, whose account of his interview, when he made her the compliments he was ordered to by the King and Queen, contains her apology for the Earl of Shrewsbury's late acceptance of the seals of Secretary of State, which he did only to serve His Majesty more effectually hereafterⁿ.

There are portraits of the Countess of Shrewsbury in the galleries at Goodwood, Knowle, Dean Park, and Drayton Manor, besides that by Mary Beale at Althorp. The portrait belonging to Sir Robert Peel, a Lely, in the character of Pallas, was formerly at Avington, and passed into the possession of his father at the

^m Macpherson, i. ff. 456-8.

ⁿ Macpherson, i. f. 481.

Stowe sale. That at Knowle, another Lely, has alone been engraved—by Claessens for Harding, by Bocquet for White, and by Scrivin for Carpenter.

Mary Bagot, Countess of Falmouth,

Afterwards of Dorset and Middlesex.—No. 330.

ONCERNING this lady there are few particulars on record. Mary, only surviving daughter of Colonel Harvey Bagot, of Pype Hayes, Aston, co. Warwick, a younger son of Sir Harvey Bagot, the first Baronet of Blithfield Colton, co. Stafford, by his first wife Dorothy, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Arden, Knt., of Park Hall, in the before-mentioned parish of Aston, is the maid of honor to the Duchess of York, in whom alone of the Mistresses Price, Hobart, Blague (Henrietta-Maria), and herself, Count Hamilton found both beauty and virtue. The family of Colonel Bagot was not a large one. By his first wife, who died in September, 1649, he had, besides the subject of our memoir, a son, Arden, born August 9, 1647; and by his second, Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Rotherham, Knt., of Someries, in the parish of Luton, co. Bedford,

who died July 13, 1685, an only child, Elizabeth, born September 17, 1653, died June 30, 1655.

The future Countess, first of Falmouth, then of Dorset and Middlesex, was born in 1645, and on the formation of the household of the Duchess of York, formally acknowledged as such September 3, 1660, received the appointment in it of maid of honor to that lady. Hamilton has very little to say of her beyond describing her person. "Elle avoit," he reports, "les traits beaux et regular. Elle avoit ce teint rembruni, qui plaît tant, quand il plaît : il plaisoit beaucoup en Angleterre, parce qu'il y étoit rare. Elle rougissoit de tout sans rien faire dont elle eût à rougir^a."

In 1664 she married the great favorite alike of the King and the Duke of York, Charles Berkeley, Earl of Falmouth, privy-purse to the former, and captain of the latter's troop of Life-guards, "a most vicious person," according to Pepys, and to Lord Clarendon, "a fellow of great wickedness^b," when she became a lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen. In a few short months, viz. on June 3, 1665, her husband met

^a Mémoires, tome ii. 160.

^b Continuation of Life of Clarendon, f. 34.

his death on board the "Royal Charles," by a cannon-ball, whilst engaged in the great sea-fight with the Dutch, called the battle of Southwold Bay, leaving his widow *enceinte* of Lady Mary, his only child. King James says, that "Lord Falmouth died not worth a farthing, though not expensive^c;" but there is a complete contradiction to this assertion. In his will, dated April 21, 1665, the day he sailed to his death, he bequeathed his landed estate to his father and his heirs male, £8,000 to his expected child (who, if a boy, would have stood in the place of the legatee above), £2,000 to his brother Sir William, £1,000 to his sister Jane, and his "house of Ridlington," in Rutlandshire, with the residue of his personality, to his wife. We turn to Pepys. On June 24, 1666, the diarist met with the Countess. "This day," he says, "I saw my Lady Falmouth, with whom I remember now I have dined at my Lord Barkley's heretofore; a pretty woman; she was now in her second or third mourning, and pretty pleasant in her looks." On July 29 and 30, the year following, he tells us that Henry Jermyn is going to

^c Macpherson, i. f. 24.

marry my Lady Falmouth, and that my Lady Castlemaine is "mad" at the prospect of losing this one of her numerous lovers. Once more Pepys meets with her. On March 4, 1668-9, going with Sir Jeremy Smith to the Earl of Anglesea's official residence at Deptford, where the Duke and Duchess of York were spending the day, he found with them the Countesses of Falmouth, Castlemaine, and Peterborough, and Lady Henrietta Hyde, "at dinner in the great room unhung." After dining with the maids-of-honor, Ogle, Blague (Mary), and Howard, and with other members of their royal highnesses' household below, Pepys and his companion ascended to the great room, and there he saw "the Duke and Duchesse, with all the great ladies sitting upon a carpet on the ground, there being no chairs, playing at 'I love my love with an A., because he is so and so; and I hate him with an A., because of this and that,'"—a childish game not yet gone out of use.

Early in 1679, or perhaps in the end of the preceding year^d, the Countess of Falmouth

^d As the "Countess of Falmouth," she is thrust by Lord Rochester

took for a second husband another vicious man, Charles Sackville, Earl of Dorset and Middlesex, K.G.,—"the muse's pride,"—and dying in childbed September 12, 1679, was buried the same day at Withyan, co. Sussex.

It is difficult to understand the meaning of all that is said on this nobleman's marriage with Mary Bagot in the Earl of Mulgrave's celebrated "Essay on Satire." The lines, though often quoted, must find a place in this Memoir.

"Thus Dorset, purring like a thoughtful cat,
Married, but wiser puss ne'er thought of that :
And first he worried her, with railing rhyme,
Like Pembroke's mastiffs at their kindest time ;
Then for one night sold all his slavish life,
A teeming widow, but a barren wife ;
Swell'd by contact of such a fulsome toad,
He lugg'd about the matrimonial load ;
Till fortune, blindly kind as well as he,
Has ill restor'd him to his liberty ;
Which he would use in his old sneaking way,
Drinking all night and dozing all the day :
Dull as Ned Howard, when his brisker times
Had famed for dulness in malicious rhymes."

Lady Mary Berkeley, sole heiress of her father and mother, married at Westminster

into one of his most objectionable poems, printed in "Poems on Affairs of State" (ii. f. 189), with the date, 1678.

Abbey, May 2, 1681, Gilbert, son and heir of Sir Gilbert Gerard, first Baronet of Fiskerton, co. Lincoln, who was also of Brafferton, co. York. We have not been able to discover when her husband succeeded to the title and estates of his father, but it must have been between June 9, 1682, and May 17, 1688^o. She was divorced from him in 1684^f: the circumstances attending this proceeding have not come down to us. She died April 18, 1693, and found sepulchre at Bexley, co. Kent, where, in the parish church, on the south side of the chancel, a white marble mural monument to her memory is inscribed with the following words :—

“ In remembrance of the Right Honourable Lady Mary Gerard Cosein, late wife of Sir Gilbert Gerard Cosein, of Brafferton, in the county of York, Baronet, sole issue of the Right Honourable Charles Lord Berkeley, of Rathdown, Viscount Fitzhardin, of Berehaven, in the kingdom of Ireland, Lord Botetort, of

^o On the first date he administered to the effects of his second wife, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham. On the second, his son had become Sir Gerard. (Diary of Samuel Pepys, 1854, iv. f. 241.) Neither father nor son are buried at Fiskerton, and the registers of Brafferton Church for the time in question have been destroyed by a fire.

^f Banks' Dormant and Extinct Peerage (Falmouth).

Langport, in the county of Somerset, & Earl of Falmouth, in the county of Cornwall, Governour of Portsmouth, Privy-Purse to King Charles the Second, & Captain of His Majesty's Guards."

On a gravestone of black marble, in the south chancel, now concealed by pews :—

"Under this stone lyes the body of the Right Hon. Lady Mary Gerard Cosein, who departed this life the 18th day of April, 1693, in the 28th yeare of her age^g."

Sir Gilbert Gerard-Cosin—for he had added to his name that of his mother, Mary, daughter and co-heiress of John Cosin, Bishop of Durham—re-married with Mary Aylif, "a coachman's daughter," divorced July 16, 1688, from Sir Samuel Morland, Baronet, for adultery with himself^h; and the date of his death, like that of his father, is unknown. He had no issue, and the title died with him.

Arden Bagot, Esq., of Pipe Hayes, the brother of our Countess, married Mary, daughter of Sir Thomas Leigh, Baronet of Stoneleigh, co. Warwick, and sister of Thomas, created

^g Thorpe's Registrum Roffense, f. 926.

^h Pepys, iv. f. 242.

Lord Leigh July 1, 1643, and died August 5, 1696, leaving issue. His wife survived, and was buried with her husband at Aston, September 8, 1740.

In 1663 Colonel Bagot was living a gentleman-pensioner¹, but his name is not found in the list of 1670², so we may presume he was then dead. In Lord Bagot's Memorials of the Bagot Family, 1824, no notice is taken of his death.

The only portrait known of the Countess is that by Sir Peter Lely, a three-quarter, in the gallery at Althorp, representing her with the fatal cannon-ball—a heavy burthen—in her lap. It has been engraved by Thomson, in stipple, for Mrs. Jameson's "Beauties of the Court of Charles II." A miniature taken from it by Ozius Humphrey supplied Harding's "Grammont" with a portrait, and this engraving, by Gardiner, has again been copied by Bocquet for White's, and by Scriven for Carpenter's edition of that work.

¹ Visitation of Staffordshire of this year.

² Chamberlayne's *Angliæ Notitia* of this year—the first of the many editions of this very useful work.

Frances Thornhurst, Mrs. Jenyns.

No. 324.

FRANCES, daughter, and eventually sole heiress, of Sir Gifford Thornhurst, the only Baronet, of Aghne Court, Old Romney, co. Kent (now a farm-house), by Susanna, daughter of Sir Alexander Temple, Knight, of Chadwell, co. Essex, was the wife of Richard Jenyns, Esq., of Holywell House, St. Albans, Herts, lord of the manors of Sandridge, same co., of Churchill, in Somersetshire, and of Fanne, in Godalming, co. Surrey, M.P. for St. Albans, 1642, and again 1661. Her marriage to this gentleman took place apparently at the church of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in December, 1643, when she was eighteen, her husband six years older^a. The place of her birth was no doubt Allington, co. Kent.

^a Marriage allegation in the Bishop of London's Registry, 1643, Dec. 18th :—“Richard Jenyns, Esq., of St. Albans, Herts, bachelor, aged about twenty-four, and Frances Thornurst, of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, spinster, about eighteen, her father dead, with consent of her mother, now wife of Sir Martin Lister, Knt., to marry at St. Martin's-in-the-

In Canterbury Cathedral are monuments with effigies to several members of her family, commemorating Mary Gifford, second wife of Sir Stephen Thornhurst, Knt., Keeper of Ford Palace (1609); Dorothy Drew, wife of Sir Stephen Thornhurst, Knt., of Canterbury (1620), son of Sir Stephen above, by his first wife, Sibell Crispe; and Captain Sir Thomas Thornhurst, Knt., son of the second Sir Stephen, killed at Rhee, July 17, 1627. Sir William Thornhurst, Knt., of Herne, co. Kent, father of Sir Gifford, son and heir of Sir Stephen, of Ford, lies buried in Herne Church (1606), also with an effigy. As the inscription on this monument has never been printed we will here transcribe it :—

“ Here lieth burried y^e body of Sir William Thornhurst, Knt., son and heir to Sir Stephen Thornhurst, of Foorde, in this county, Knt., which Sir William married Ann, daughter unto the Right Honourable Thomas Lord Howard, Viscount Howard, of Bindon, and by her had issue one son, named Gifford Thornhurst, and two daughters, Frances and Grace. He

Fields, St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, or St. Paul's, Covent Garden.” They were not married at the two first-mentioned churches, and at the last the registers commence only in 1653.

died the 24th July, 1606, and in y^e 31st year of his age."

He married the Hon. Ann Howard, daughter of Thomas Viscount Bindon, and of his two daughters, Grace became the wife of Mildmay, Earl of Westmoreland. Sir Gifford himself died December 16, 1627, and what remains of his epitaph is now concealed beneath the pavement of the newly-built church of Allington^b. His other daughter and co-heiress, Barbara, died in childhood, and his young widow speedily gave her hand to a second husband, Sir Martin Lyster, Knight, of Thorpe Arnold, co. Leicester, by whom she had a very large family, viz., four sons, Michæel, Martin, M.D., F.R.S., the celebrated medical author, William, and Mathew, and five daughters, Susan, Frances, Jane, Barbara, and Penelope; the last born February 25, 1651, 2^c. Lady Lyster was not buried at Thorpe Arnold, nor Sir Martin. The year of

^b It is copied in Thorpe's *Registrum Roffense*, ii. f. 822. The church registers commence in 1630 only, too late for the baptism of Sir Gifford's three children, and the burial of his only son, who died an infant, *v. p.*

^c See further concerning them in Nichols's *Leicestershire*, ii. ff. 376, 377.

her death is unknown. He is said to have died in 1670.

The subject of this notice bears any but an enviable reputation. Count Hamilton, speaking in praise of her daughter Frances, says, "Elle qui vrai-semblablement ne tenoit pas cette discrète morall de la prudence de sa mère^d." Mrs. Manley, that "The public would have it that she knew more than the common race of mortals; in short, that she was conversant with a dæmon who gave her to understand the future^e." She also, no bright example of virtue herself, stamps the lady with peculiar infamy under the name of Damereta when assigning her character to the mother of an imaginary person called the Empress Irene^f. Swift, as "Mother Haggy," introduces her into his squib, "The Story of the St. Albans Ghost," and gives her there quite as bad a reputation as Mrs. Manley does in her "New Atalantis." Miss Strickland somewhere finds—she puts the words into the mouth of Count Anthony Ha-

^d *Mémoires du Grammont*, tome ii. 166.

^e *New Atalantis*, 1736, i. f. 28.

^f *Ibid*, iii. ff. 138—140; iv. ff. 41—54.

milton—that she “was not allowed to approach the court on account of her infamous character, although she had laid Charles II. under some mysterious obligation^g.” This lady has also discovered in a printed octavo, the title of which has escaped her memory^h, an epigram by an anonymous author, entitled, “The Murmurs of the Oak,” wherein allusion is made to Mrs. Jenyns. The date of the poem is about 1707, the writer signs with the initials “H.G.,” and its subject is a censure upon the Duchess of Marlboroughⁱ, Mrs. Jenyns’s youngest daughter, for removing an oak-tree planted by Charles II. in the grounds where yet stands the mansion reared by her Duke, and now occupied by the Prince and Princess of Wales when in London. Miss Strickland has mutilated the lines—for a reason easily understood,—and so we learn only from her quotation, that Mrs. Jenyns “owed her fame” to this sovereign.

^g *Lives of the Queens of England*, 1847, x. f. 249.

^h Inf. kindly supplied by Sir Frederic Madden, K. H., F. R. S.

ⁱ *Ibid*, 1848, xii. f. 206. Her authority, as she intended to set it out, should be Lansd. MS., 852, f. 73, being a Collection of Political and Satirical Poems and Ballads, 1703—1726, made for Edward, Earl of Oxford. “The Murmurs,” however, are not to be heard in it.

The children of this lady were two sons, John and Ralph, who died young^k, and four daughters : Susanna, another tenant of an early grave, Frances (the subject of our next memoir), Barbara, born 1652, and Sarah, the great Duchess^l, born May 29, 1660. We will not here venture into the biography of the youngest of these ladies, as her life embraces almost the whole history of Queen Anne's reign ; but of the third we have room to mention—so little being known of her—that she married Colonel Edward Griffith, secretary to Prince George of Denmark, and afterwards one of the clerks-comptrollers of the green cloth, who died February 11, 1710, 11. She pre-deceased him, dying March 22, 1678, 9, in her twenty-seventh year, and her remains rest under an inscribed slab in St. Albans Abbey Church, with those of her only child, Barbara, whose death occurred July 23 following. The poetical lines upon the tablet placed by the south door of the choir to this lady's memory may be added to this brief notice of her.

^k They were both living February 7, 1673. Vide note, f. 58.

^l No. 170, 171, 191, 325, 408 (min.), ii. v.

"Youth, beauty, virtue, here intomb'd do lye :
 O death, luxurious in cruelty,
 Glutted with age and vice, thy common prey,
 How greedily this life thou'st snatch'd away,
 Whiche virtue and good manners did so grace ;
 Whose death doth sweeten and adorn this place,
 And cheares the ashes of her antient race.
 Thus virtue disappoints death's cruell skill ;
 They onely dye untimely, who dye ill.
 Whose early steps the sacred height do climb,
 'Tis just their happiness should begin betime."

The effects of Mr. Jenyns were administered to May 29, 1668, by Anthony Mildmay, his principal creditor, Frances, his widow, having renounced. She long survived her husband, and on February 12, 1691, 2, made her will (proved January 11, 1693, 4), leaving all her manors, lands, personality, &c., to her daughter Sarah, for her sole and separate use, so that her dear son-in-law, John, Earl of Marlborough, "though I love him from my heart^m, shall not intermeddle therein, but be wholly debarred," and directing her body to be buried in the Abbey Church of St. Albans, as near as convenient to her "four first children." The regis-

^m No. 192, 495 (min.), iii. viii.

ters of the church were destroyed by a fire which occurred in it on September 14, 1743, and therefore our memoir of this lady must rest incomplete. The date of "great Atossa's" baptism, interesting to all, is for ever lost.

There is no other portrait of Mrs. Jenyns than that in the Althorp Gallery. The expression of the lady's face is, as Lady Spencer has remarked to us, "most unpleasant." It has never been under the hand of the engraver.

Frances Jenyns, Duchess of
Tyrconnel.

No. 360.

FRANCES, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Richard Jenyns, Esq., of Holywell House, St. Albans, was born in 1648. Her father was seventh in descent from Thomas Jenyns, whose son-and-heir, Bernard, living January 4, 14 Edward IV., 1475, was of Fanne, in Godalming, and of Brabeuf, in Guildford, both Surrey estates. By Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of John Loxley, lord of the manor of Polsted, in Compton, same co., he had, with a daughter Alice, two sons, Thomas and John, on the latter of whom—father of Nicholas and Thomas—he settled Fanne in tail male. The eldest, who succeeded to Polsted and Brabeuf, had two wives, Margaret and Joan, and by the last, *née* Burdett, left issue, on his death, in 1508^a, three sons, Thomas, father of Sir John, of Halfnaked, co. Sussex,

^a According to Manning and Bray, Surrey, ii. f. 8, this Thomas Jenyns was buried, with his first wife, at Compton.

a gentleman of the Privy-chamber to Henry VIII., who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Gage, K.G., of Firle, same co. The will of Sir John is dated March 18, 35 Henry VIII., 1544, before his knighthood, and it was proved March 14, 1547. His widow died March 14, 1557, and was buried in the Minories. They had two sons, Edward and John, who both died *s.p.*, the latter in 1558. The second son of Thomas was Bernard, and the third Nicholas, whose only child, Ellena, had two husbands, Richard Turner and John Cade.

Bernard Jenyns, of London, above mentioned, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Ralph Rowlat, of St. Albans, one of the Masters of the Mint to Henry VIII. On the death of her brother another Sir Ralph, High-sheriff of Herts, 1559, on April 19, 1571, their son Ralph, who, when of Islington, in 1563, had acquired the manor of Churchill, Somerset, inherited, besides a seat in the town of St. Albans, the manor and advowson of Sandridge, a parish a few miles out of it. He also succeeded to Fanne, on becoming heir male of his great grandfather. They had another son, William, of London,

whose marriage with Ellenor, daughter of Ambrose Dautesey, Esq., of West Lavington, co. Wilts, is all that has been recorded of him. The estate of Fanne, here again mentioned, on the death of John Jenyns, devolved on his son, Alderman Nicholas Jenyns, of All-Hallows, Barking, Sheriff of London 1523, who, by Margaret, daughter of Alderman Sir John Mundy, of Chekenden, co. Oxon, Sheriff of London 1514, Mayor 1522, had an only son, Bernard, who died *s.p.*, and a daughter, Juliana, the wife, first, of Hugh Knight, of Knight's Hill, Streatham, Surrey; secondly, of Sir Thomas Holcroft, of Vale Royal, co. Chester, Receiver of the Duchy of Lancaster, and Knight Marshal to Queen Mary. Sir Thomas Holcroft, in his will dated July 2, 1558, proved April 20, 1564, desires to be buried at Weaverham, co. Chester (the church register commences only in 1576). His widow's will, dated April 3, 1595, was proved March 12, 1595, 6. She died July 13, 1595, possessed of a house at Streatham, and was buried at Whitegate, co. Chester, thirty-seven days after her death^b. Her directions

^b Whitegate parish register.

were that she should be buried with her father in the church of his parish. The will of Alderman Jenyns is dated September 6, 1531, and it was proved January 22, 1532, 3. His widow married, secondly, Lord Edmund Howard, third son of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, K.G.^c, and Comptroller of Calais, who died March 19, 1538, 9; and thirdly, Henry Mannox^d, of Hemmingford Gray, co. Huntingdon, whose will is

^c Pedigree of Mundy, penes William Mundy, Esq., of Markeaton Hall, co. Derby. It is very remarkable that this marriage is wholly unknown to the Howard family. The fact that it took place is, in some measure, corroborated by the wills of Sir John Mundy, dated July 12, 1537, and, with a codicil, dated August 27, proved September 26 following, and of Lady Mundy, dated September 20, 1537, and proved on the same day as her husband's.

^d The name of Henry Mannox, when placed in connection with that of Lord Edmund Howard, brings before us the sad story of Lord Edmund's daughter, Queen Katherine. Could this person have been the early corrupter of the young girl, and the player on the virginals in the household of the Dowager Duchess of Norfolk? Whoever he was, Lady Howard held him in no great esteem, and he was unhappy in his son. "Forasmuch as my wife," so he expresses himself in his will, "hath been so unnatural unto me and to my children, as myself do best know, and all men may right well perceive, and also for that my son Thomas hath divers and sundry times played many naughty, light, and lewd parts in my lifetime," they are to have no part of his estate, which is to go wholly to his daughter Margaret, who would be seventeen on the 11th of the following February, with remainder to the children of his daughter, Anne Chapman. Anne, wife of John Chapman, administered to her mother's estate.

dated March 18, 1563, 4, and was proved September 4, 1564. Her ladyship was buried at Streatham, January 22, 1564, 5, and administration of her effects was granted February 17 following.

Turning again to Ralph Jenyns. He died at Churchill Court, April 10, 1572, as his epitaph in Churchill Church shews. By Joan, his wife, daughter of Henry Brouncker, Esq., of Melksham, co. Wilts, he had two sons, Thomas, his successor, living 1591, and John, successor to Thomas, and as many daughters, Anne, wife of Sir John Dauntesey, of West Lavington,—she was buried there March 17, 1613, he January 5, 1630,—and Elizabeth. Sir John Jenyns, knighted April 23, 1603, resided at Churchill Court, and died before October 13, 1609, on which day letters of administration were granted to his widow Dorothy, daughter of Thomas Bulbeck, Esq., the mother of his son Thomas (ancestor of Jenyns, of Bottisham Hall, co. Cambridge*), and his daughter Elizabeth. By his first wife, Alice, daughter of Sir William Brouncker, Knt., of Melksham and Earl Stoke, co. Wilts, he had

* Burke's Dictionary of the Landed Gentry, 1846, i. ff. 648, 649.

an only son, Sir John Jenyns, created a K.B. in 1625. This gentleman chose Holywell House for his residence. The year of his knighthood he served the office of High-sheriff of Herts, and he sat in Parliament for St. Albans from 1640 to his death in August, 1642. By Alice, third daughter of Sir Richard Spencer, of Offley, Herts, a younger brother of Sir John^f, father of Robert, first Lord Spencer, of Wormleighton^g, he had issue, besides Richard above mentioned, four other sons, John, Edward, Charles, and Ralph^h, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Anne. His will is dated March 21, 1638, and its probate August 9, 1642. Of these children we hear only of the eldest daughter. She married Francis Hillⁱ, a Turkey merchant, Anabaptist, and bankrupt, who we have discovered was second son of William Hill, Esq., of Teddington, co. Middlesex^k, and of

^f No. 172.

^g No. 190.

^h In all probability the Ralph Jennings who, with nine others, signed the Anabaptists' Address presented to Charles II. at Bruges in 1656. (Clarendon's Rebellion, 1707, iii. Part ii. f. 625.)

ⁱ Chauncy's Hertfordshire, f. 508. Banks' Dormant and Extinct Peerage (Masham).

^k Visitation of Gloucestershire, 1623, and will of William Hill, Esq., dated May 12 (no year), and proved July 4, 1642. Mrs. Hill was buried

Great Wood-street, London, one of the auditors of the revenue, by Abigail, daughter of Richard Stephens, Esq., of Estington, co. Gloucester. These were the parents, with other sons and daughters, of Abigail Lady Masham, the obnoxious cousin of the Duchess of Marlborough. We may here also remark that Abigail Stephens was aunt to another Abigail, the mother of Robert, Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, K.G. By these links, closely connected together, were three very celebrated personages¹.

Frances Jenyns, the subject of this memoir, was brought directly from the country to be a maid-of-honour to Anne, Duchess of York. Count Hamilton describes her at this time in the following words :—" Mademoiselle Jennings parée des premiers trésors de la jeunesse, étoit de la plus éclatante blancheur qui fut jamais ; ses cheveux étoient d'un blond parfait ;

at Teddington, June 6, 1677. The church registers at the time of her husband's death are wanting. There are no entries in it between 1641 and 1645.

¹ The pedigree of Jenyns has been compiled from various authorities, the principal being Manning and Bray's Surrey, i. ff. 86—88, 621, 622 ; ii. ff. 8, 9 ; L. ii. (Coll. Arm.), f. 122. (Pedigree dated February 7, 16 Charles II., 1673, *o.s.*)

quelque chose de vif et d'animé défendoit son teint du fade, qui d'ordinaire se mêle dans une blancheur extrême; sa bouche n'étoit pas la plus petite, mais c'étoit la plus belle bouche du monde. La Nature l'avoit embellie de ces charmes, qu'on ne peut exprimer, les Graces y avoient mis la dernière main; le tour de son visage étoit gracieux, et sa gorge naissante étoit de même éclat que son teint. Pour achever en un mot, sa figure donnoit une idée de l'Aurore, ou de la déesse du Printems, telles que Messieurs les Poëtes nous les offrent dans leurs brillantes peintures. Mais comme il n'étoit pas juste qu'une seule personne possédât tous les trésors de la beauté, sans aucun défaut, il y auroit eu quelque chose à refaire à ses bras, et à ses mains, pour les rendre dignes du reste. Son nez n'étoit pas de la dernière délicatesse, et ses yeux faisoient un peu grace, tandis que sa bouche et le reste de ses appas, portoient mille coups jusques au fond du cœur.

“ Avec cette aimable figure, elle étoit toute petillante d'esprit et de vivacité: ses gestes et tous ses mouvemens étoient autant d'impromptus.

tus ; sa conversation étoit séduisante, quand elle vouloit plaire ; fine et délicate, quand elle vouloit donner du ridicule ; mais comme son imagination l'émportoit souvent, et qu'elle commençoit de parler, avant que d'achever de penser, ses expressions ne signifioient pas toujours ce qu'elle vouloit : et ses paroles rendoient quelquefois trop peu, quelquefois beaucoup trop, les choses qu'elle pensoit ^m."

The young lady no sooner entered the gay circle at Whitehall, than, according to Hamilton, she had to receive and repel the amorous attacks both of the Duke of York and the King, to keep off the more honorable advances of Dick Talbot, who in the end affronted her by venturing a caution against her newly-found friend, Miss Price, the Duchess's discarded maid-of-honour, and also those of at this time a more favoured lover, Henry Jermyn, who, in like manner, brought his hopes to the ground by shewing that he preferred the chances of war at Guinea, where it was proposed to send Prince Rupert with a fleet to join that of Captain Holmes, to the company of his charmer at

^m Mémoires du Grammont, tome ii. 161, 162.

home^a. All this occurred within the year of her appointment; and "The other day" of Pepys, under date February 21, 1664, 5, gives very nearly the exact time of her adventure, so cleverly narrated by Hamilton, when, with Miss Price^o, and in the disguise of an orange girl,

^a Henry Jermyn sailed, as a volunteer, with Prince Rupert in the "Henrietta," from the Hope, October 5, 1664, and, the Guinea expedition being found, through the actions there of Captain Holmes, unnecessary, took part in the sea-fight of June 3, 1665.—Pepys, 1854, ii. ff. 164, 173, 181, 248.

^o A Miss Price, whose Christian name we have not, was a maid-of-honour to Anne, Duchess of York, and was dismissed, according to Count Hamilton, on the death of Dungan, a gentleman of merit and lieutenant of the Duke's Life-guards, on account of a discovery which this event revealed. (*Mémoires*, tome ii. 156—158.) Robert Dongan, third son of Colonel Sir John Dongan, second Baronet of Kildrought, or Castletown, co. Kildare, Ireland, and brother to William, Earl of Limerick, died in or before July, 1662 (adm. of this date). He was lieutenant of the Duke's Life-guards in 1661. (*Macdonald's Records of the Life-guards*, 1835, f. 12.) The companion of Frances Jenyns, a prominent character in Grammont, was certainly a daughter of Colonel Sir Herbert Price, Baronet, of the Priory, Brecon, master-of-the-household first to Queen Henrietta-Maria, and then to Charles II., M.P. for Brecon Town, 1640 (disabled December 5, 1645), and from 1661 to his death in January, 1677-8, by Goditha, daughter and co-heir of Sir Henry Arden, Knt., lady of the Privy-chamber to the Queen-Mother, and therefore sister to Henrietta-Maria, maid-of-honour to the Queen from 1662—(Letter from Henry Viscount Cornbury to Margaret, Marchioness of Worcester, June 10, 1662, containing List of Queen Catherine's first household, in Warburton's *Memoirs of Prince Rupert*, iii. ff. 461—464; *Flagellum Parliamentarium*, being *Sarcastic Notices of the First Parliament after the Restoration*, 1827, f. 29),—until her marriage,

she so untowardly ran against those wild men, Henry Sidney and Henry Killigrew, at the entrance to the theatre, and afterwards against a still wilder man, Henry Brouncker, in Tower-street, her object being a visit to the German doctor, as she thought the goldsmith's lodger was, the Earl of Rochester as he proved to be^p, in the last-named locality. From this anecdote we learn that Miss Jenyns possessed, among her various personal advantages, that valued not a little by her who has it to exhibit, and by him whose eyes it dazzles, a very handsome leg. Brouncker, an acknowledged judge, had never seen its like.

The only other incident found in Grammont in relation to Miss Jenyns is that of her journey to York with the Duke and Duchess on August 5, 1665^q, in which Dick Talbot, as a groom-of-

December 4, 1673, at St. Andrew's, Holborn, with Alexander Stanhope, Esq., widower, of St. Paul's, Covent Garden. There is a portrait, by Lely, of "Mrs. Price," engraved in mezzotinto—Browne (exc.). It has also been engraved by Bartolozzi for Harding and White, and by Scriven for Carpenter.

^p Compare Hamilton's account of Lord Rochester's doings in Tower-street with Burnet's *Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester*, 1774, f. 14, and *The Works of John Earl of Rochester*, 1714, ff. 108—117.

^q For the date of this journey vide Reresby's *Memoirs*, 1735, f. 11.

the bed-chamber, was afforded another opportunity of casting himself at her feet^r.

It was in this same year that another lover appeared, and carried off the golden apple. Count Hamilton's brother George, second son of the Hon. Sir George Hamilton, Bart., of Donalong, co. Tyrone, Receiver-general of Ireland, and fourth son of James, first Earl of Abercorn, was the fortunate man. He had, before the Restoration, been page-of-honour to Charles II., and was now a lieutenant in the King's troop of Guards. On April 20, 1666, he obtained a pension of £500, the better to enable him to support himself and family, and the following year was knighted, and appointed Captain-lieutenant of Louis XIVth's Company of Gens d'armes Anglois. This monarch conferred upon him the title of Count, and the rank of Maréchal de Camp. In June, 1676, he was slain in an engagement near Zebernstieg, in Alsace, with a large part of the three regiments he commanded. On his death

^r *Mémoires du Grammont*, tome ii. 250. It is to be observed that Hamilton places the journey to York before the expedition intended for Guinea.

his widow, shortly before become, like her husband, a Roman Catholic^s, was left with six children, "inconsolable and ruined beyond redemption^t," when she was placed on the pension-list of France, and made that country her residence. The Count George, it must not be overlooked, appears once, in his brother's lively narrative, a bachelor, courting the fair wife of Mr. Wetenhall, a baby from her infancy to her death! His distinguished services in the French wars were under Turenne, whose death he was present at, as well as under Condé. In the battle of Ensheim, fought October 4, 1674, between the first-named General and the Duke de Bournonville, he was badly wounded.

About 1679, at Paris, she married her second husband and early lover, Colonel Richard Talbot, then an exile, on account of a charge brought against him by Titus Oates, on October 23, 1678, that he held the Pope's commission as Commander of the Forces in Ireland, in connection with the Popish plot, and who had lost

^s Evelyn, November 12, 1675.

^t Letters of Madame de Sévigné (English translation), 1811, iv. ff. 90, 98.

his first wife, Catherine Boynton, in Ireland only so late as March 17 that year^u. From confinement in Dublin he had effected his escape to France, and it is most likely that he remained abroad until after the return of his master, the Duke of York, an exile, like himself, and on the same account, in May, 1682. On June 20, 1685, King James created his groom of the bedchamber Earl of Tyrconnel, when the Countess received from the Queen the appointment of lady of her bedchamber. The Earl previously had been made Lieutenant-General of the army in Ireland. The year following he was constituted Viceroy of Ireland, and on July 11, 1689, the unacknowledged Dukedom of Tyrconnel was conferred upon him, at which time he was Captain-General of the Irish army. A few days after the battle of the Boyne, fought July 1, 1690, he sent his Duchess into France "with all his own wealth and the King's treasure^x," whilst he remained at his post until the raising of the siege of Limerick by King William, August 20. He then, without loss of

^u Memoir of Mrs. Myddelton (Addenda), f. 71.

^x Macariae Excidium (Camden Soc. Pub.), ff. 42, 43.

time, rejoined the King at St. Germain's⁷, where he was invested with the Order of the Garter, another unacknowledged title, and there continued with his wife until the middle of January, when, parting with her for ever, he returned to Ireland and his command⁸. On August 14, 1691, whilst defending Limerick for King James, the Duke died of apoplexy, and was buried in the cathedral of that city. In the outlawries of 1691, his name with those of his widow and only surviving child, the Lady Charlotte Talbot, is to be found, and so again Lady Tyrconnel was penniless. While living at Dublin Castle she had secured husbands for the three surviving children of her first marriage, viz., Elizabeth, baptised at St. Margaret's, Westminster, March 21, 1666-7, Frances, and Mary, the two latter born in France. "Lord Talbot is come out of Ireland," writes Rachel Lady Russell, on January 15, 1685-6, to Doctor Fitzwilliam, "and brought husbands for his daughters-in-law; one was married on Tuesday to a Lord Rosse; the other lord is Dungan⁹." The Eng-

⁷ Ibid, f. 50.⁸ Ibid, ff. 73, 74.⁹ Letters of Lady Rachel Russell, 1774, f. 83.

lish-born lady, on the 13th of this month, became the wife of Richard Viscount Rosse ; which of the daughters was intended for Walter Viscount Dongan, son-and-heir of William Earl of Limerick, we cannot say. Frances, in 1687^b, gave her hand to Henry, eighth Viscount Dillon, and Mary became the wife of Nicholas, third Viscount Kingsland. The eldest died at St. Omer, in June, 1724, and was doubtless there buried ; the youngest at Turvey, in the parish of Donabate, co. Dublin, February 15, 1735, and was buried in the church of the neighbouring parish of Lusk. The date and place of Lady Dillon's death is unknown.

The Duchess continued at the Court of St. Germain, where we hear of her, on November 9, 1695, as one of the four ladies attending upon Queen Mary Beatrice, when the King paid a visit to Louis XIV. at Versailles^c, and again on September 30, 1699, as the recipient of 3,000 crowns out of King James's pension^d.

^b Marriage Articles, dated July 4, 1687.

^c Mémoires et Journal du Marquis de Dangeau, 1830, tome iii. 398.

^d Coles' State Papers, f. 53. Letter from the Earl of Manchester to the Earl of Jersey from Paris.

In 1700 she established her right to a portion of jointure off the lands of Cabragh, co. Dublin*, forfeited by her husband, and on December 11, 1704, we find her entertaining at supper her brother-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough. This was at the Hague, "the very night that he came away," i.e., sailed for England[†]. He came to her by his own invitation, was received privately, and "they had not seen one another in God knows how many years before[‡]." In the autumn of 1705 she is found on her way from Holland to the waters of Aix-la-Chapelle, provided with a French pass, obtained 5th September by the Duke of Marlborough, then with his army at Tirlemont. On her coming to the Bosch[§] she was to be met by eight English dragoons as an escort to Maestricht, where the Governor would give her another to the place

* D'Alton's Illustrations, Historical and Genealogical, of King James's Irish Army List, ff. 63, 66.

[†] The date of his quitting the Hague is derived from Coxe's Life of the Duke, 1818, i. f. 361.

[‡] Macpherson, i. ff. 695, 696. Letter of Lord Caryll, dated January 4, 1704-5. Macpherson places the interview in London. The Duke did not "come away" from England until March 13, 1705. Smollett's England, 1841, i. f. 490.

[§] i.e. Hertogenbosch, or Bois le Duc.

of her destination. If the Duke could not wait upon her there he hoped to see her in Holland before he embarked for England¹. In June, 1708, the Duchess revisited Ireland, going from Brussels to Holland, and thence, avoiding London, to England, on her way there. Her object was to settle her jointure, then in disorder, which she thought would employ two or three months. This should be the time when Horace Walpole places the Duchess, or a female suspected to have been her, behind a milliner's stall in the New Exchange, supporting herself "for a few days (till she was known and otherwise provided for) by the little trade of this place," and "in a white mask and a white dress." "The white widow," as she was called, we may readily believe, was so placed, but we cannot as readily believe that she was the Lady of Tyrconnel². The Duke of Marlborough addresses four letters to his Duchess on the subject of this journey. In the first, dated Brussels, May 14, he tells her that he had yesterday waited upon her sister, "who,

¹ Despatches of the Duke of Marlborough, 1845, ii. f. 254.

² Pennant's London, 1793, ff. 148, 149, (Inf. Horace Walpole).

I think, is grown very old, and her hoarseness much worse than when I saw her last." On the 17th, he says, "he had yesterday been a long while with her, when she complained very much of the non-payment of *their* rents." On the 24th, he had taken his leave of the lady, who would begin her journey about ten days hence. She had expressed a hope that she might have the pleasure of seeing her sister at St. Albans, and he had, in his wife's name, placed Holywell House at her disposal on her way to and from Ireland. "You will find her face," he adds, "a good deal changed, but in the discourse I have had with her she seems to be very reasonable and kind." On the 31st, the Duke had the day before received a letter from the Duchess, in which she announced her intention of leaving Brussels in two or three days¹. "While in Flanders," says Macpherson, "she had frequent access to her brother-in-law, the Duke of Marlborough, and assisted to carry on the correspondence between that nobleman and the Court of St. Germain^m."

¹ Correspondence of the Duchess of Marlborough, 1838, i. ff. 122—124.

^m Original Papers, ii. f. 678.

We hear little more of the Duchess of Tyrconnel. Her latter years were passed in Dublin. Settling there, she founded a nunnery of Poor Clares in King-street, and died at her house in Paradise-row, Arbour Hill, near the Phoenix Park, March 6, 1730-1, *o. s.*, in the eighty-second year of her age. "Her death," so we read in a Memoir of the Hamiltons, quoted by Pinkerton, "was occasioned by her falling out of bed on the floor in a winter night, and being too feeble to rise or call, she was found in the morning so perished with cold that she died in a few hours^a." She has no monument in St. Patrick's Cathedral, where her remains rest, but in the chapel of the Scottish College, Rue des Fosses St. Victor, Paris, destroyed in 1860, was the following inscription to her memory, on a mural tablet within a frame engraved with burning lamps :—

. D. O. M.
 Æternæ memoriæ
 illustrissimæ et nobilissimæ dominæ
 FRANCISCÆ JENNINGS
 DUCISSÆ DE TYRCONNELL.
 Reginæ Mag. Brit. Matronæ honorariæ,

^a Walpoleiana, 1799, ii. f. 12.

hujus collegij Benefactricis,
 Quæ missam quotidianam in hoc sacrario
 fundavit perpetuo celebrandum,
 pro anima suâ et animabus Dⁿⁱ Georgii
 Hamilton de Abercorne Equitis aurati
 Conjugis suprimi °, et Dⁿⁱ Richardi Talbot
 Ducis de Tyrconnell, Proregis Hybernîæ,
 secundi sui conjugis.

Obiit die xvii.^p Martii. An. Domini

MDCCXXXI.

Requiescat in pace.

The will of "Frances Talbot, Countess and Duchess of Tyrconnel," is dated May 26, 1726, and it was proved November 25, 1731. It is very long. In it she forgives her daughters, the dowager Lady Dillon and the Lady Kingsland, for all the wrongs they had done her. The elder one, the Lady Rosse, was then dead. She mentions her granddaughters, Frances, Viscountess Netterville, and Catherine, Mrs. Hussey, and her great-granddaughter, Lady Betty Parsons. Her house, with its furniture, she directs to be let, as a means of paying the debts due by Lord Tyrconnel to Lady Dover and to Sir Charles Littleton's heirs, to which

• Sic.

° N.S.

she supposes they have no title, no one having administered, and his daughter having lost all.

His daughter may have been hers also, but this is by no means certain. The portrait of Lady Charlotte, a full length, by Michael Wright, portrait painter to Charles II., was taken in the lifetime of her eldest sister, Catherine, who died June 17, 1684, and is now at Malahide Castle. This picture, representing the two daughters of the Duke, is incorrectly inscribed, "The *Ladies* Catherine and Charlotte Talbot."

Lord Talbot de Malahide is unable to supply any further information respecting Lady Charlotte than that she married the Prince de Ventimiglia, a noble of a Provence family, by whom she had two daughters, the eldest the wife of the Prince Belmonte, of Sicily, another Ventimiglia, the youngest of M. Verac, and that they both died *s.p.*

The Duchess of Tyrconnel is described by Evelyn, who, on November 12, 1675, accompanied her to Dover, where she took ship for Calais, as "a sprightly young lady." The Earl of Melfort, in a despatch to James II., written

at Paris, in October, 1689, says, that at the Court of France she was considered to have "*l'ame la plus noire qui puisse concevoir*," and suggests that she should be requested to return to France for the benefit of her health^a; whilst the Hamilton Memoir, in "*Walpoleiana*," describing her in her latter days, tells us she was "of very low stature and extremely thin," adding, that she "had not the least trace in her features of having ever been a beauty^r."

The Althorp portrait of the Duchess, by Mary Beale, has been engraved by Wagstaff, for Mrs. Jameson. Lord Talbot de Malahide has portraits of the Duke and the Duchess, the latter in body colour. A portrait of the Duchess, by Verelet, has been engraved by Tomkins for Harding, and by Cheeseman for White. It was in the collection of Earl Beaulieu, her great-grandson. A Lely will be found, engraved by Scriven for Carpenter. Bromley mentions two engraved portraits of Richard, Earl of Tyrconnel, the one Jollain (exc.), the other with the date 1689, engraved by N. Larmessin. There is a portrait of Count George

^a Macpherson, i. f. 338.

^r ii. f. 12.

Hamilton, engraved by Gardner for Harding, "From an original picture, in the collection of Lord Beaulieu, at Ditton Park;" and in "Walpoleiana," is allusion to two others of the same, one in French uniform, at Seaforde, co. Down, the seat of the Fordes, descended from the Count's sister Margaret, the other at Turvey.

Lucy Walter.

No. 313.

FRANCIS SANDFORD, a contemporary of Lucy Walter, says, that her father was Richard Walters, of Haverfordwest, co. Pembroke^a; and Evelyn, another of her contemporaries, that her parents were "some very mean creatures of the name of Barlow^b." In setting out her pedigree for the first time we shall be able to shew that they were both in error.

A certain Sir Richard Holmes, of Colchester, in Essex, son of William, and born in the latter half of the fifteenth century, had, by Margaret Harcourt, his wife, a son named John, or Richard, who emigrated to Haverfordwest, and married there the daughter and heir of Robert Walter. John Holmes, alias Walter, his son, married Alson, daughter of William Mendus, of Fishguard, co. Pembroke, and by her had

^a Genealogical History of the Kings of England, 1707, f. 639.

^b Memoirs, 1819, i. f. 604.

Morris and William, both aldermen of Haverfordwest. The first served the office of sheriff 1565, and mayor 1579 and 1587. The second was sheriff 1578, mayor 1581^c. Alderman William Walter married, first, Alice, daughter of Hugh Barnet, by whom he left issue Alderman Roger and Morgan; and secondly, Alice, sister of Sir Thomas Middleton, Knt. He died June 18, 1611, æt. seventy, and was buried in the Church of St. Mary, Haverfordwest, where a handsome monument erected to his memory is still to be seen^d. Alderman Morris Walter, the elder son, by Jane, daughter of William Warren, Esq., a descendant of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., by the Lady Katherine Howard, daugh-

* These dates are obtained from a list of mayors and sheriffs of Haverfordwest, printed by order of the mayor and corporation in 1845. Alderman Roger Walter, sheriff 1588, mayor 1591, 1596, dead 1609, by Jane, daughter of John Marychurch, had issue, John, 1609, Morgan, *s.p.*, William, and Jane, the wife of Alderman John Warren. A Roger Walter was sheriff 1615, mayor 1617, 1619; a Morgan was sheriff 1634; a William was sheriff 1644, mayor, 1653; and a Richard was mayor 1667, 1668. Morgan, brother of Alderman Roger, being called "Syr," may have been a clergyman.

^d The inscription on his tomb is as follows: "Here lyeth the body of William Walter, Esqvier, sometime Alderman of this Towne, who deceased the 18th of Jvne, Anno Dom. 1611. Anno Ætatis sve. 70.

"Christ is to me Liffe,
Death is to me Advantage."

ter of Thomas, first Duke of Norfolk, K.G., was the father of Alderman William Walter, of Roch Castle and Trefrân, in the parish of Roch, co. Pembroke, and of Cwm y Gigvran, in the parish of Llangunnor, co. Caermarthen, sheriff 1591, mayor 1592 and 1597, living 1608, who, by Jane, daughter of Francis Laugharne, Esq., of St. Bride's, same co., had Rowland, of Roch Castle; Elizabeth, the wife of John Kynar, Gent.; Ann, the wife of John Williams, of Kile, co. Caermarthen; Lettice, the wife of Henry Daws, Gent.; Maud, the wife of Thomas Birt, of Cardigan; and Alice. Rowland Walter, Esq., also living 1608, married Frances, daughter and heir of Griffith ap Thomas ap Rhys, of Cwm Tydi, otherwise Ravensdale, in the parish of Llandissiliogogo, co. Cardigan, and by her had a son, William, 1608, and two daughters, Elizabeth and Jane°. William, in due course, succeeded to Roch Castle and the other estates of

° He may have had other children born after 1608, their grandfather being then living, including the ancestor of Mr. Rowland Walters, who was tried June 1, 1688, for the murder of Sir Charles Pym, Bart., in a drunken quarrel before "The Swan" tavern, in Old Fish-street, on May 4 preceding, when the jury returned a verdict of manslaughter.—State Trials, xii. f. 113, &c.

the family, and married Elizabeth, daughter of John Prothero, Esq., of Hawkesbrooke, co. Caermarthen, by Eleanor, daughter of Walter Vaughan, Esq., of Golden Grove, in the parish of Llanfihangel Aberbythych, same co., by Katherine, daughter of Griffith ap Rhys, Esq., of Newton, in the parish of Dynevor, also in the same co., granddaughter of Sir Rhys ap Thomas, K.G., before-mentioned, which Eleanor was sister to John, first Earl of Carbery. By this lady William Walter had Richard, his heir^f, another son, named Justus, and Lucy, the subject of this memoir. Having shewn who her ancestors were, we will set out her armorial bearings : Quarterly. 1. Erm. a griffin segreant within a bordure engrailed az.—Holmes alias Walter ; 2. per pale arg. and gu. a chevron engrailed az.—Walter ; 3. arg. three crows, sa.—

^f The foregoing pedigree of Walter is derived from Lewis Dwnn's *Heraldic Visitations of Wales*, i. f. 228, from an old MS. vol. of Pembrokeshire descents, or rather from a copy made from it by the late Admiral Thomas Tucker, *pene*s John Pavin Phillips, Esq., of Haverfordwest ; from Prothero, MS., Long Book, Coll. Arm., f. 122 ; and from "The Theatre of Europe," by I. F. Van Bassen, 1684, MS. *pene*s George Edward Adams, Esq., and purchased by him at the sale of the late Lord Farnham's library since our memoir was compiled. The parentage given by us to Lucy Walter is confirmed by it.

Ap Rhys; 4. gu. a lion rampant regardant or—Elystan.

The civil war extended, in 1644, into Pembrokeshire, when a garrison, under Captain Francis Edwardes, of Summerhill, was put into Roch Castle on the part of the King. The castle was taken and burnt by the Parliamentary forces^g; and in these proceedings we have a reason for Lucy being found in London in 1648. She should then, her parents being alive, have been there under proper care, but it seems to have been otherwise. It was in this year and in this place that she made the acquaintance of Colonel Algernon Sydney^h. She was on her way to the Hague, where, having escaped, through no fault of her own, from one brother, she fell to the possession of another—Colonel Robert Sydneyⁱ—and so was commenced her disreputable career^k.

On July 10, 1648^l, the year here alluded to, the Prince of Wales, who had come there from

^g Fenton's Historical Tour through Pembrokeshire, f. 146, &c.

^h Nos. 292, 358.

ⁱ No. 396.

^k Macpherson, i. f. 76. (King James, speaking on the authority of Algernon Sydney.)

^l The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, f. 95.

his mother's residence at St. Germain, left Calais by sea for Hellevoetsluis, with the purpose of superseding the Duke of York in the command of the revolted part of the Parliamentary fleet assembled at that place. Having sent his brother back to the Hague, he sailed for England on the 20th of this month^m. On September 4 he came, in company of Prince Rupert, to the Hague himself, from the fleet safely anchored at Hellevoetsluis, thus finally taking his leave of the seaⁿ. These dates are important to be observed, as within their space it is necessary that the connection should have been formed between the Prince and Lucy, which resulted in his claiming the son born of her at Rotterdam on April 9, the following year, as his^o. This was the famous Duke of Monmouth, who Evelyn insinuates

^m The Life, Diary, and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, f. 95.

ⁿ Warburton's Memoirs of Prince Rupert, iii. f. 253.

^o The Countess of Dunois, Memoirs of the Court of England, ii. f. 3, says, that Charles first saw Lucy in Wales. When was he there? According to Lord Clarendon, a groom of the bedchamber, as he describes Colonel Robert Sydney, "willingly preferred" the lady to the "honour" she had no objection to. Continuation of Life, f. 205. The words of Colonel Robert to some of his friends on this occasion we will not quote, nor will we more than allude to Colonel Algernon's bargain. Macpherson, i. f. 76.

might, with sterner justice, claim Robert Sydney, whom "he most resembled," for his father, and who King James unhesitatingly asserted was so. He carried the impress of the Colonel "even to a very wart on his face"^p.

In June, 1649, King Charles, followed or accompanied by the lady, went from the Hague to Paris, and there, residing alternately at the Louvre and the chateau of St. Germain with the Queen Mother, he remained until September, when he took his departure with the Duke of York and his small Court for Jersey, and to that island the lady may also have accompanied him. It was during the three months passed in Paris that Lucy Walter was seen many times by Evelyn^q, who records a journey he made with her in Lord Wilmot's coach from Paris to St. Germain on August 18. On March 15, 1649-50, the King had come from Jersey to Breda, where he first met the Scottish Commissioners. Thence, after signing the treaty on May 13, he proceeded to the Hague, and at Scheveningen embarked for Scotland on June 2. While absent in that

^p Macpherson, i. f. 76.

^q Memoirs, 1819, i. f. 604.

country Lucy intrigued with Colonel Henry Bennet, then the Duke of York's secretary, and afterwards Earl of Arlington and K.G., the asserted father of her daughter Mary, "as like the Earl as possible", and born in 1651. On October 30, 1651, Charles returned to the Louvre from Scotland, and terminated his connection with the lady, in spite of all her little arts, and of her endeavour to persuade Doctor Cosin that she was a convert, and determined to discontinue her scandalous way of life[†].

On September 18, 1650, William Walter, late of Roch Castle, was dead, administration of his effects being on that day granted to "Justo," his son. On March 27, 1652, further administration was granted to his relict, Elizabeth, of goods unadministered by his son "Just," who now renounced. We hear next of Lucy Walter on August 6, 1652. She had then received forty pistols out of a sum of money remitted to Paris for the King's use[‡]. Two years later she is again before us. When Charles

[†] Macpherson, i. f. 76. (King James.)

[‡] Ibid. (King James.)

[‡] Evelyn, *Memoirs*, ii. Appendix, f. 196. Letter from Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Richard Browne, dated St. Germain, August 6, 1652.

went from Paris to reside at Cologne, in 1654, Lucy persuaded old Sir Henry de Vic, the King's resident at Brussels, to accompany her there, that she might ask leave to marry him^u. This was in December. The Queen of Bohemia, writing from the Hague on 21st of this month to Sir Edward Nicholas, Secretary of State, at Cologne, thus alludes to this singular courtship. "Sure it is a doting time for King Charles' ould ministers of state. I thank God your wife is yet alive, for fear you should fall in love again. I pray let me know when that wedding will be, for I will send a letter to Rev. Dick Harding to bespeak him as bride-man^x." And again, on January 4, "I am sorry for poor Sir Harry de Vic, as, let the match break or go on, it is every way ill for him^y." The lesser of the two evils fell to the Guernsey Baronet, as his first wife was his last. A better gift from Charles was in reserve for him. After the Restoration he became Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, in addition to his office,

^u Macpherson, i. f. 76. (King James.)

^x Evelyn, *Memoirs*, ii. Appendix, f. 156. Richard Harding, Esq., groom of the King's bedchamber, and in 1640 M.P. for Bedwin (disabled February 5, 1643).

^y *Ibid*, f. 158.

which he then obtained, of Comptroller of the Duke of York's Household.

In August, 1655, Lucy Walter was again at the Hague, as appears from the evidence of Ann Hill, her servant, who, being in London with her in the June of the following year, was, as well as her mistress—suspected by Cromwell of being a spy^{*}—arrested and confined in the Tower. This person, when examined on June 26, said, “that this informant was servant to the said Lady Walter in Holland about seven months, and about six weeks ago she left her said lady, and came to England in a Dutch ship, promising the said lady, when she sent for her, to repaire to her, which she accordingly did about a week ago; and saith, that the said lady came lately out of Flushing, hiring a boat to bring herself, two children, Mr. Justus Walter, her brother, and Thomas Howard, Gentleman of the Horse to the Princess Royal at the Hague, and this informant saith, that she hath often heard, that one of the said children her said lady had by Charles Stuart, and that the said lady had no other means to maintain her,

^{*} à Wood, *Athenæ Oxoniensis*, 1813—20. Fasti, ii. f. 269.

but what she hath from the said Charles Stuart, although she lives in a costly and high manner; and saith, that for aught she perceives, the said lady maintains her brother. And this informant further saith, that the said lady, and her children, Mr. Walter and Mr. Howard, lie at a barber's house over against Somerset-house, but the name of the said barber or his sign this informant knows not. And this informant likewise further saith, that she hath several times heard the said lady say, she hoped that the said Charles Stuart would quickly have England; and saith, she knows no just cause why the said lady should procure her imprisonment, but supposes it was, because this informant would discover the said lady; and saith that the said lady told her, this informant, she was, a little before her coming over, with the King, meaning Charles Stuart; and this informant having conference with the said lady's brother about it, he swore the said lady had been lately with the King, meaning Charles Stuart, a night and a day together ^a."

The mark of ANN [] HILL.

^a Thurloe's State Papers, v. ff. 160, 161.

On June 28, Colonel Sir John Barkstead, Lieutenant of the Tower, writes to Secretary Thurloe as follows :—

“Sir,—Yours together with his Highness’s warrants I received. The lady saith she had a son by Charles Stuart, which is dead ; that the twoe childen she now hath were by a husband she had in Holland, whoe is alsoe dead. That she came over only to looke after £1,500 left her by her mother. That she came from Flushing about three weeks since. That she hath not seene C. S. this twoe yeares. That shee mett Colonell Howard, as she tooke shipping at Flushing. That she hath not as yet received any of her petition. Mr. Justus Walter saith he went out of England about twoe months by past, and had a passe from the Councell to travell for Italy ; but meeting with his sister coming over, he came with her : that before he went over he belonged to the Temple. All that I can gett from Collonell Howard is enclosed^b.

“I am, Sir, your affectionate friend and servant,

“ J. BARKSTEAD.

“ *Tower Lond., June 28, 1656.*”

^b Thurloe, v. f. 169.

*The Examination of THOMAS HOWARD, ESQ., taken
June 28, 1656*.*

“Saith he did see Charles Stuart about a year since at Cologne, and not since. Saith he hath been about five or six years out of England. Saith he was engaged for the late King at Oxford, and commanded a regiment of horse for the said King, and after Naseby fight went over into Holland, and there had a troop of horse given him by the Prince of Orange’s grandfather, which he now hath. That he is now and had ever since the said time been Master of the Horse to the Princess Royal. Saith he took shipping about three weeks since at Flushing, and so came for England. Being asked how he came into the company of the lady Lucey Walter, *alias* Barlow, saith, he met her on shipboard in the ship in which he came over into England, with whom he came over, and took lodgings at the same house with her. Saith that since he was at Cologne with Charles Stuart, he hath been in France with the Princess Royal, on whom he waited, and from Paris went to Havre de Grace, intend-

* Thurloe, v. f. 169.

ing for England, but by storm was driven to Rotterdam, and from Flushing, whence he returned as aforesaid. Further saith not.

“J. HOWARD.”

On July 2, Ann Hill, again examined, said, “That in August last she came first into the service of the said lady Lucy Walter, and went over with one of her children into Holland to the Hague, where the lady then lived, and saith, that Mr. Thomas Howard, Gentleman of the Horse to the Princess Royal, did much frequent her company there; and saith she continued there seven months, and then came over into England. And saith, that this informant never heard, that the said lady had any husband in Holland, or any other place, but that those children she had were begotten by Charles Stuart; and saith that Justus Walter, her said lady’s brother, told her, this informant, that the said lady, together with the said Thomas Howard, went from the Hague to Flanders, and then immediately they came from thence to Flushing, and so for England, as she hath heard them say. And this informant further saith, that the said lady told her, this informant, that

the very same night, in which she came to Antwerp or Brussels, Charles Stuart came thither^d; whereupon this informant asked her in these words, 'Did your honour see him?' to which she answered, 'Yes, and he saw your master too' (meaning one of her children, which is usually called master). And this informant saith, she knows not who came with the said lady into England, besides Thomas Howard and Justus Walter aforesaid, neither anything further of their actings beyond seas; and saith, she heard the said lady and her said brother confer together about a necklace of pearl, which the said lady intimated to him she had bought; and that they discoursed it must cost about £1,500. And this informant saith, she heard the said lady say, she had bespoke a coach, and that she would have it lined with red velvet, and have gold fringe on it within three weeks; and said, although they lived but closely in their lodgings, yet very plentifully in clothes and

^d The King came from Bruges to Antwerp, May 22, 1656, and lay first at the house of Mr. John Harvey, nephew to the famous physician. After staying a few days at a house in the neighbourhood of the city, where he was on the 27th, he went to Brussels. On June 3 he had returned to Bruges.—Thurloe, i. f. 728, v. ff. 36, 55.

dyet, and had a coach to attend them continually from week to week. And this informant saith, while she lived with the said lady, she, this informant, was kept up so privately, that she had not scarce liberty to come down for a cup of beer, which she really believes was, that this informant might not have an opportunity to discover them. And saith, the said lady gave her a charge, not to tell who she was, but to say she was a Dutch captain's wife, whose husband is dead; which she, this informant, observeth*."

The mark of ANN [] HILL.

On July 16 she was discharged from imprisonment by the Proctor's warrant, and order taken forthwith to send her and "the young heir" away, and to set them on shore in Flanders, "which is no ordinary curtesie^f," when she openly declared her young son with her to be the King's child. At Cologne, the Duke of Ormond and Sir Edward Hyde had prevailed upon the lady to accept a life annuity of £400 from the King, and to repair with her son to

* Thnrloe, v. f. 178.

^f Mercurius Politicus, No. 318, July 10—17, 1656.

her native country^g, and this document—signed Charles R., and subscribed, by His Majesty's command, Edward Nicholas—was found upon her when arrested^h. The name of Barlow seems to have been first assumed by her on occasion of her intended visit to England, and not unlikely was invented for the husband of her invention. The Hon. Thomas Howard, here introduced to us—a lover of Lucy Walter's—was brother to James, Earl of Suffolk, and at this time a married man. The name of Justus Walter is not found among the admissions to the Middle or Inner Templeⁱ, and

^g Lingard, 1849, viii. f. 479.

^h "CHARLES R.—Wee do by these presents of our especial Grace, give and grant unto M^{rs}. Lucy Barlow, an annuity or yearly Pension of Five thousand Livres, to be paid to her or her Assignes in the City of Antwerp, or in such other convenient place as she shall desire, at four several payments by equal portions, the first payment to begin from the first of July, 1654, and so to continue from three months to three months during her life; with assurance to better the same, when it shall please God to restore us to our Kingdoms: Given under our sign manuel, at our Court at Collogn, this 21 day of January, 1655. And in the sixth year of our Reign.

"By His Majesties command,

"EDWARD NICHOLAS."

—Mercurius Politicus, No. 318.

ⁱ Search has been most politely made in the Records by Charles Shaw, Esq., sub-treasurer of the Middle and Inner Temple.

it is not certain that we hear anything more of its bearer.

The only will of a widow, named Elizabeth Walter, to be found in the Prerogative Office of the time, required to corroborate Lucy Walter's report of her mother's death, was proved February 8, 1665-6, just four months before she set out on her journey to London. It is that of a resident in London, is dated August 20, 1656, and in it the testatrix alludes to her son, Richard Walter, Esq. Her whole property, however, including an obligation wherein her said son is bound to her in the sum of £500, she leaves to her brother and sole executor, Mr. Peter Gosfricht¹, requiring him to pay to his son, and her

¹ Administration was granted March 3, 1657-8, to Margaret, relict and administratrix of Peter Gosfricht, late of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, executor of said Elizabeth Walter. The mother of Lucy Walter had a sister Margaret, the wife of Mr. Zouche. Vide her pedigree. Protheroe MS. (Coll. Arm.), vii. f. 67. Did she re-marry Mr. Gosfricht? She had an only brother, Richard, who married Jane, daughter of John Wogan, Esq., of Wiston Castle, co. Pembroke, and her other sisters were Mary, the wife of James Morgan, of Llanhowel, same co.; Dorothy, the wife of the Rev. — Hockley; Anne, the wife of — Bushfield, of London; Penelope, the wife of John Lloyd, of Ffrwd, in Llangyndeyrn, co. Caermarthen; Prudence, the wife of —; and Frances, who married—1. Morgan Jones; 2. Thomas Jones, of Brawdy, co. Pembroke; 3. — Kynner.

nephew Francis, when twenty-one, £50, given to him by his deceased grandmother, with £60 more, being the interest and increase of the same. Until the eighteenth century, let it be remembered, the word brother always included in its meaning the husband of a sister, and even the husband of a husband's sister.

On February 8, 1656-7, Lieutenant-Colonel Daniel O'Niel, groom of the King's bedchamber, is found at the Hague, commissioned by Charles, then at Bruges, to the fair frail one. "I have hetherto forborne giving your majestie," writes the Colonel, "any account of your commands concerning Mrs. Barloe, because those, that I employed to hir, brought mee assurances from hir, she would obey your majestie's commands. Of late I am tould nothing less, and that shee is assured from Collen your majestie would not have hir son from hir. I am much troubled to see the prejudice hir being here does your majestie; for every idle action of hers brings your majestie uppon the stage; and I noe less ashamed to have soe much importuned your majestie to have believed hir worthy of your care. When I have the honor to

wayte uppon your majestie, I shall tell you what I have from a midwyf of this towne, and one of hir mayds, which shee had not the descriptione to use well after knowing so much of hir secrets^k."

Again, the same writer from the same place, under 14th of the same month : " Before I took the liberty to writ anything to your majestie of Mrs. Barloe I did sufficiently inform myself of the truth of what I writ. Since I had the opportunity to save hir from publick Scandall at least. Hir mayd, whom she would have killed by thrusting a bodkin into hir eare as she was asleep, would have accused hir of that, of miscarrying of two children by phisick and of the infamous manner of hir living with Mr. Howard, but I have prevented the mischief, partly with threats, but more with a 100 gilders I am to give hir mayd. Hir last miscarriage was since Mr. Howard went ass the midwife says to me that I employ to hir. Dr. Rufus has given hir phisick but it was always after hir miscarrying; and though hee knew anything, it would bee indiscreet to tell it. Therefore I would not

^k Thurloe, i. ff. 683, 684.

attempt him, and the rather, that I was sufficiently assured, by those that were neerer. Though I have saved hir for this tyme, it's not lykly shee'le escap when I am gon; for onely the consideratione of your majestie has held Monsieur Heermleit¹ and Monsieur Nertwick, not to have hir banished this toune and country for an infamous person, and by sound of drum. Therefore it were well if your majestie will owen that chyld to send hir your positive command to diliver him unto whom your majestie will apoint. I know it from one who has read my lord Taaf's letter to hir of the 11th by this last post that he tells hir your majestie has noe-thing more in consideration than hir sufferings and that the next money you can gett or borrow shall be sent to supply hir. Whyle your majestie encourages any to speake this language shee'le never abey that you will have. The

¹ John Poliander van den Kirkhoven, Seigneur de Hemfleet, in Holland. He married the Hon. Catherine, eldest daughter and co-heir of Thomas Lord Wotton, and widow of the Hon. Sir Henry Stanhope, K.B., eldest son of Philip, first Earl of Chesterfield, which lady was created Countess of Chesterfield for life, May 29, 1660; and married, thirdly, the writer of this letter. Her daughter, by her second husband, became the wife of the "Mr. Howard" mentioned in it—Colonel Thomas Howard, of Suffolk.

only way is to necessitat hir, if your majestie can think hir worth your care^m."

Within a little more than five months of this extraordinary piece of intelligence, Lucy Walter is met with in Brussels, where Charles then also was. On August 1, 1657, Sir Edward Hyde writes from Bruges to the Marquis of Ormond, in attendance upon the King: "There is much talk here of a certain lady who is at Brussels, and I assure you very shrewd discourses of it, which will quickly get into England; I pray let her go to some other placeⁿ." On the 27th, Sir Edward himself had reached Brussels, and was able to inform Sir Edward Nicholas at Bruges that "Tom Howard was stabled on Friday last [24th] by a kinsman or servant of Mrs. Barlow^o."

In October Charles returned to his Court at Bruges, and soon after empowered Sir Arthur Slingsby, a Captain in his guards, created a Baronet there on the 19th of that month, to remove his son, the future Duke of Monmouth, from his mother, still lingering in the capital of

^m Thurloe, i. f. 684.

ⁿ Clarendon's State Papers, iii. f. 355.

^o Ibid, ff. 357, 358.

Flanders, a proceeding which provoked the following interesting correspondence, now for the first time, like the letters of Colonel O'Neil, exhumed from the ponderous and, because only of their weight, little referred to volumes of the folio age. In one of the letters the reader will again meet with an unfavourable notice of our lady.

"Mr., afterwards Sir Giles, Mottet, Bart., of Liège, to the Marquis of Ormond, K.G."^p

"MY LORD,—I am so much ashamed of the proceeding of Monsieur Slingsby and all his family, against Madam Barlow and her child, that I am loath to relate the particulars thereof to your Excellency, referring the same to what you will hear of my Lord Castlehaven^q and Monsieur Berkley^r, who have been witnesses of it, and depart this day hence towards your Court. My Lord Ambassador^s hath written to the King about it, being forced thereunto

^p Clarendon's State Papers, iii. f. 382.

^q Sir Arthur Slingsby, after the Restoration, of Bifrons, in Patricksburn, co. Kent, married a Flemish lady. Their children were Sir Charles, Peter, Anne-Charlotte, and Mary. The two sons, in 1669, were living beyond the seas. Sir Arthur died in 1665. Evelyn, June 19, 1664, says he was "a meer shark."

^r James, the restored Earl of Castlehaven, and Sir John, afterwards Lord Berkeley, of Stratton.

^s Don Alonzo de Cardenas, who had been Ambassador from the Court of Madrid to that of London.

by the clamour of the people, who found this action most barbarous, abominable and most unnatural ; and the worst of all is, that Sir Arthur doth report and say to all, that the King hath given him order for it. But out of my obligation and respect to the King, I do endeavour to disabuse all of it. I shall desire your Excellency to honour me so far as to let me know his Majesty's sense about the affair, that I may by the knowledge thereof act the better what is most conformable to his Majesty's pleasure. I hope to take Monday next the possession of my place, which being done, I will haste away to Antwerp to provide the satisfaction of the money due to the King, the Duke of York, and to your Excellency, whereof I shall give you farther notice. Being,

“ My Lord, yours, &c.

“ *Brussels, this 6th of Dec., 1657.*”

“ *The Marquis of Ormond to Mr. Mottet*†.

“ SIR,—I have shewed the King yours of the 6th to me, and upon it he commands me to let you know, that he takes your proceeding in the business of Mrs. Barlow very kindly, being well satisfied that what you have done was out of your care of any part he might have in it ; he is pleased to acknowledge that he gave order to Sir Arthur Slingsby in a quiet and silent way, if it could be, to get the child out of the mother's hands, with purposes of advantage to them both, but

† Clarendon's State Papers, iii. ff. 382, 383.

he never understood it should be attempted with that noise and scandal that hath happened, and to this purpose I think his Majesty hath written to my Lord Ambassador. His Majesty persists in his desire to have the child delivered into such hands as he shall appoint, and will take himself to be much obliged to you if by your means it may be effected, either by disposing my Lord Ambassador to interpose his power in it, or by any other way you shall find more proper ; besides the obligation it will be to the King, it will also be a great charity to the child, and in the conclusion to the mother, if she shall now at length retire herself to such a way of living as may redeem in some measure the reproach her past ways have brought upon her. If she consents not to this, she will add to all her former follies a most unnatural one in reference to her child, who by her obstinacy will be exposed to all the misery and reproach that must attend her, when neither of them is any further cared for or owned by his Majesty ; but that on the contrary he will take any good office done to her as an injury to him, and as a supporting of her in her mad disobedience to his pleasure. In this case it ought to be considered whether she should not be compelled to be good to herself, at least to be restrained from ruining her innocent child, that she may not make a property of him to support herself in those wild and disgraceful courses she hath taken, and whether the condition of the parties concerned does not so far difference this from other cases, that the King may not reasonably

pretend to a more than ordinary compliance with his desires ; the conclusion of all is, that if his Majesty can have the child disposed of according to his direction, it will much content and oblige him ; and the mother will find her account in it, if her future deportment be as it ought, if not, he will free himself the best he may from any further trouble or scandal, and leave her to her fortune ; and so, Sir, I remain,

"Yours, &c.

"*Bruges, this 10th of Dec., 1657.*"

"*Mr. Mottet to the Marquis of Ormond*".

"MY LORD,—I have seen by your Excellency's letter of the 10th his Majesty's pleasure concerning the getting the child out of Mrs. Barlow's hands to be delivered unto such as the King shall appoint, and I do assure you that I will do all my endeavours towards the effecting of the same, either by the interposition of my Lord Ambassador, or otherwise ; it being most certain that there is nothing in the world that I desire more passionately than to show in all occasions my readiness in obeying and serving his Majesty. Since the very first day that Mrs. Barlow came to my quarter I did procure to make her understand and persuade her, that it was her convenience to oblige the King in delivering the child into his hands, and her ruin in not doing it ; but all that I could have of her hitherto is, that she declareth to be content to

^a Clarendon's State Papers, iii. f. 383.

leave the child to be bred and instructed as the King shall appoint, so that she may live at Brussels in the house of that person whom the King shall choose with her consent (Slingsby excepted) to have the care and keeping of the child, in which case she desireth that a pension be settled for his subsistence, and a supply for her present necessity : and as I came to hear by accident she would be content to live at my Lord Castlehaven's house, if his Majesty will approve of it, I shall desire your Excellency to keep this advice to the King and to yourself, and to be pleased to let me know his Majesty's further resolution hereupon, and your Excellency's commands, that I may execute the one and obey the other according to the desire of,

" My Lord, yours, &c.

" *Brussels, this 13th of Dec., 1657.*"

" *Sir Arthur Slingsby to the King*^{*}.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,—

" I had given your Majesty an account of my negotiation at Ghent but that I supposed my Lord of Bristol would do it at his return ; but I find since my coming to Brussels, that your Majesty taking notice of the business to Don John hath wrought good effects, for he was extravagantly informed of my procedure ; the verity of which coming to light, Don Alonzo de Cardenas is most infinitely out of coun-

^{*} Clarendon's State Papers, iii. ff. 384, 385.

tenance, both through the reproof that I perceive is come to him from the Court, and the unanimous complaint that the Council of Brabant hath made of him for interrupting the Justice and imprisoning the Lieutenant Amand for doing his duty, insomuch that he tells me the Lieutenant Amand shall have his liberty, and that he never understood before now that I had any Civil Actions against Mrs. Barlow, but that it concerned only your Majesty ; to which I answered, that it was true that her ill behaviour to your Majesty gained me a liberty of prosecuting her by the Justice for my due, and that if he had been my judge and had given me a legal way of proceeding, I had declared to him my actions against her ; and that, being my Lord Castlehaven and Mr. Mottet had answered for the prisoner, and that contrary to their engagement they had carried her out of the Justice's hands into the sanctuary of his house, I did come expressly to him (considering the respect I owed him, and knowing that your Majesty desired that no just exceptions should be given to his person) to acquaint him of my design to proceed legally against his servant Mr. Mottet and my Lord Castlehaven, till such time as they either pay me my money, or render the prisoner into the hands of the Justice ; which way of proceeding I perceive surprized him very much, and he repeated oft, that he never understood the business before in that sense, and in the conclusion desired me to forbear two or three days, and he would endeavour to accommodate the matter ; since which I have not

spoken with him, but am informed that great endeavours are used to persuade Mrs. Barlow to submit to your Majesty's pleasure, as if they would do that which they hindered me from effecting, and regain your Majesty's favour by it; and they say that she will submit, so that the child may not be either with Mr. O'Neal or me, and I am mistaken if the next proposition will not be, that he may be with my Lord Castlehaven or Mr. Mottet, but I am certain that your Majesty rejecting any capitulations with either her or them, will have the child upon your own terms; for the Ambassador hath said, that he will not let her go out of his house till she gives your Majesty satisfaction, lest she should run away and he receive the reproach of occasioning her escape; he hath sufficiently found out her qualities, and what reason your Majesty hath, but that the Spaniards do not love to confess their faults. Mr. O'Neil told me at Ghent that it would be an acceptable service to your Majesty to get certain papers and letters out of her hands that concern your Majesty, which made me reflect upon a discourse that she held as I have been informed (when she designed her escape out of my house and consequently out of this country with her child) to this effect; that if your Majesty did not send her her pension, she would post up all your Majesty's letters to her, so that it were necessary your Majesty had them out of her hands. If your Majesty pleases to write a kind letter to Don Alonzo, thanking him for his endeavours to bring her to submit, and informing

him that she hath suspicious papers by her, since she came last out of England, and desiring that her trunks may be searched in my presence, and all the papers put into my hand, I doubt not but he will do it, and then your Majesty will be quit of that trouble. I have some few papers that she left me of Mr. Howard's, in which your Majesty is concerned, which I will keep till I have the honour to see your Majesty again, that I may put them into your Majesty's own hands. I humbly take my leave, resting,

"Sir, Your Majesty's, &c.

"Brussels, this 22nd of Dec., 1657."

At the end of February, 1657-8, Charles finally quitted Bruges with all his Court, and removed to Brussels. Not yet had Lucy left this city. On August 26, Blank Marshall, a Colonel and a spy in the pay of Cromwell, after mentioning the death of Sir William Keith, in a duel with Theobald Viscount Taaffe*, goes on to say, "There was another combat between Madam Barlow, who bor Charles Stuart two children, and Doctor Floid*.

* The second Viscount, created Earl of Carlingford June 26, 1662.

* The learned William Lloyd, D.D., successively Bishop of St. Asaph, Lichfield and Coventry, and Worcester, at this time the King's chaplain.

He got the wors, and is gon for Holland^b." Three days later Mr., afterwards Sir George, Downing, writing from the Hague to Secretary Thurloe, alludes to a lawsuit between Tom Howard and her. "Tom^c Howard, brother to the Earl of Suffolk," says Cromwell's Resident in Holland "had a — in this country, with which he trusted all his secrets and papers; theis two afterwards falling out, a person in this town got all the papers from her: whereupon Tom Howard began a suit in law against the said party to the value of £10,000, and did plead in open court, that the reason why he began the said suite, and upon pretence of so high damages, was because he did not know, but that he might fall to be heer to the earl his brother, and that there were among the said papers some which if discovered would be his ruin."

A year subsequent to this date, Charles left Brussels for Fontarabia. Within four months he had returned to his Court. The year following he removed to Breda, thence to the

^b Thurloe, vii. f. 337.

^c Ibid, ff. 347, 348.

Hague, where he embarked for his country and crown. Of Lucy during this time nothing has come down to us. It is only certain that she died shortly after the Restoration^d. Evelyn, who, like Sir George Dowling, and Alsopp, the King's brewer, brands her with the coarsest name that can be inflicted upon a female, says, that "she died miserably, without anything to bury her^e." The complaint that carried her to her grave will not admit of description^f. From Bishop Kennett we learn a little more. "The late master of the Charter-house," records that author, "who was long in the service of King Charles II. abroad, and had the care of Mrs. Barloe, and buried her at Paris, said positively"—this, in contradiction to Monmouth's "monstrous and ridiculous" claim to legitimacy—"the King had never any intention to marry her, and, indeed, she did not deserve it, being a very ill woman^g." The Master of the Charter-house referred to was William Erskine, Esq., appointed to the office December 29, 1677^h. He

^d Macpherson, i. f. 77. (King James.)

• Memoirs, i. f. 604.

^f Macpherson, i. f. 77. (King James.)

• Register and Chronicle,

1728, f. 366. (Note b.)

^h Smythe's History of the Charter-house, f. 238.

had served the King in his wanderings as cup-bearer¹, and accompanied him to England in that capacity^k.

Mary, daughter of Lucy Walter, married, first, William Sarsfield, Esq., of Lucan, co. Mayo, elder brother to Patrick, created Earl of Lucan by James after his abdication, by whom she had Charles *s.p.*, and Charlotte, wife of Agmondisham Vesey, Esq. Mr. Sarsfield made his will April 20, 1675, but when and where it was proved we cannot ascertain. His widow married, secondly, William Fanshawe, Esq., of the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Master of the Requests to Charles II., who was buried at Barking, co. Essex, June 23, 1708, leaving by her a son, Thomas-Edward, of Great Singleton, co. Lancaster; Ann-Dorothy, the wife of Mr. Mathews, a Barrister; and Ann-Mary, the wife of Mark Newdegate, Esq., of Ireland. Lucy-Catherine, another daughter, was buried at Barking, September 21, 1705. Mrs. Fanshawe

¹ Archæologia, xxxv. f. 339.

^k Sir Edward Walker. A Circumstantial Account of the Preparations for the Coronation of His Majesty King Charles the Second, 1820, f. 13.

died before her husband, who, in his will, dated August 26, 1707, and proved July 13, 1708, directs his body to be buried in Barking Church, "by the side of his dearly-beloved wife, Mary, sister of the late Duke of Monmouth¹."

Of Lucy's two brothers, Mr. Justus wholly disappears after 1656, unless it was he who stabbed Tom Howard. Richard, the continuator of the Walter line, is doubtless the one alluded to by Pepys on February 22, 1663-4, when he thus writes: "The Duke of Monmouth's mother's brother hath a place at Court; and, being a Welchman, I think, he"—the Diarist is speaking of Mr. Alsopp, the King's brewer—"told me, will talk very broad of the King's being married to his sister." He does not appear among the Royal Household, &c., in 1669^m, so we may believe he died in early life. He is described as of Llanarthney, co. Caermarthen, in 1651, when he leased some land in Dale, co. Pembrokeⁿ, and is known to

¹ We can state, on the authority of the Rev. Henry Fortescue Seymour, M.A., Vicar of Barking, that there is no entry of the burial of Mrs. Fanshawe in the registers of his church between 1660 and 1708.

^m Chamberlaine's "*Angliæ Notitia*" for this year.

ⁿ Inf. John Philipps Allen Lloyd-Philipps, Esq., of Dale Castle.

have married Bridget, daughter of Henry Middleton, Esq., of Middleton Hall, Llanarthney, High Sheriff of Caermarthenshire, 1644, and to have had issue Richard *s.p.*, Henry Walter, Esq., of Rôsmarket, co. Pembroke, living there 1697, but previously at Trefrân, who married Bridget, daughter of Vincent Corbett, Esq., of Inisymaengwyn, co. Merioneth. Frances, the wife of George Phillips, of Pembroke, Mary, Bridget . . . and Lucy^o (?). The only child of Henry was Sir Richard of Rôsmarket, born October 22, 1675, at Trefrân^p; entered at the Inner Temple November 5, 1697^q; knighted April 2, 1699, who died when serving the office of High Sheriff, February 7, 1727, æt. fifty-two^r, leaving by Thomasin, his wife, daughter of Sir Joseph Brand, Knt., of Edderstone, co. Suffolk, who died December 12, 1734, a son, Joseph, born February 24, 1702, at Trefrân^s, who died *s.p.*, and two daughters, who also died *s.p.*

^o "Luce m^d King Charles IInd. Engl^d." Admiral Tucker's MS.

^p Roch Church Register. Its earliest entry.

^q Inf. Charles Shaw, Esq.

^r There are inscriptions to the memory of Sir Richard and Lady Walter on Lady Brand's monument in the chancel of St. Thomas's Church, Haverfordwest.

^s Roch Church Register.

We cannot conclude our memoir without referring to the Duke of Monmouth's claim to legitimacy. This person landed in England, with the Queen-Mother, July 28, 1662, when in his fourteenth year, and as the son of Lord Crofts. While residing in Paris, his tutor, Thomas Ross, had put the thought of the claim into his head, and had asked Dr. Cosin to certify to a marriage between the King and his mother, a proceeding which led to his removal from his charge, and by his place being given to the Lord Crofts. In 1668, the Earl of Shaftesbury came near to proposing to the King that he should acknowledge the Duke. In 1673, articles were even submitted by Shaftesbury's party for the legitimating of the Duke, and in the following year a rumour had reached the Prince of Orange that the Earl of Arlington designed to persuade the King to this step. In 1678, the Duke himself began to set up a claim to legitimacy, and told Sir Thomas Armstrong, an officer in the Life Guards, the King had promised to declare him Prince of Wales, and that, should the King die, he had four witnesses to swear to a marriage between him and Mrs.

Barloe. In the next year a design was laid by the party above alluded to to prove this marriage. It was pretended that a letter had been taken from Lucy Walter, when in the Tower, under the King's hand, owning the marriage, and a newspaper of the time was produced in which she was called Charles Stuart's wife[†]. A Knight, of the name of Parry, was to prove that a Bishop, then dead, had performed the ceremony. Allusion is also made about this time to "Blackburn's Contract of Marriage of the King and Mrs. Barloe," which Sir Gilbert Gerard, Bishop Cosin's son-in-law, had in a black box. On April 26, 1678, Sir Gilbert appeared before an extraordinary Council, called by the King, when he denied all knowledge of such a writing, and on June 3 following the King published a declaration to confirm one of January 6, and another of March 3, wherein he said, "That to avoid any dispute which might happen in time to come, concerning the succession of the Crown, he did declare,

[†] "She passeth under the character of Charles Stuart's wife or mistress," are the words of Mercurius Politicus, No. 318, the newspaper referred to.

in the presence of Almighty God, that he never gave, nor made any contract of marriage, nor was married to Mrs. Barlow, alias Walters, the Duke of Monmouth's mother, nor to any other woman whatsoever, but to his present wife, Queen Catherine, then living." This document, signed by sixteen Privy-Councillors, was entered in the Council-book, and registered in Chancery. With it sunk to rest a claim that has justly been stigmatised as "monstrous and ridiculous".

Evelyn has described Lucy Walter as "a browne, beautifull, bold, but insipid creature^x," and King James II. says, she was "very handsome," and had "little wit and some cunning^y." Lord Clarendon also testifies to her personal charms. She was, he says, "a private Welch woman, of no good fame, but handsome^z." At Cashibury is a half-length portrait of her holding a portrait of the Duke of Monmouth (copied from one in the same collection, dated

^x Macpherson, i. ff. 44, 48, 68, 70, 74, 76, 78, 81, 89, 100, 101, (King James.) Rapin, 1793, ii. f. 712. Continuation of Clarendon's Life, f. 205.

^y Memoirs, i. f. 236.

^z Macpherson, i. f. 76.

^a Continuation of Life, f. 205.

1683), the painter's name unknown. In the possession of Mrs. Paynter, of Pembroke, is a portrait, said to be of Lucy, apparently of the age when Charles first met with her. She is dressed as a shepherdess, with a crook in one hand, and in the act of removing a mask from her face with the other. The portrait has lovely eyes. It came from Dale Castle, one of the residences of the Walter family, and where Mrs. Paynter's husband, the late Joshua Whitaker Paynter, Esq., J.P., was born*. The Marquis of Bute's portrait is a three-quarter. The lady may be called a demi-nude. She holds an arrow in her right hand, a chaplet of flowers in her left, and the god of love withdraws a curtain from her charms. It has been engraved by Vanden Berghe, for Harding's "Grammont," and it is the only engraving we have of her. Earl Spencer's portrait, by B. Fleshier, a French artist, his lordship has informed us, was first identified by his grandmother—an undisputed authority for so doing,

* This gentleman and his brothers, when boys, destroyed a portrait of the Duke of Monmouth at Dale Castle by shooting arrows at it. Inf. J. P. Phillips, Esq.

it may be thought, as the Lady Lavinia Bingham, daughter of Charles, first Earl of Lucan, was great-great-great-granddaughter of Lucy Walter.

ERRATUM.

P. 35, line 18, and p. 36, line 1, *for* "Knowle" *read* "Knole."

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ADDENDA

TO

ALTHORP MEMOIRS,

INCLUDING CORRECTIONS.

BY

THE AUTHOR.

Printed for Private Circulation.

1880.



ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

f. 13, note v (and ff. 28, continuation of note c, last l. but one; 29, note d; 48, note d; 61, note m; 64, note r), *for* du Grammont *read* du Comte de Grammont.

f. 16, note a, l. 5, *for* Howel *read* Howell.

f. 21, l. 14, *for* Trye *read* Frye.

f. 22, ll. 8—14, *dele from* He to laws (with note f).

„ note e, l. 2, *for* in place of *read* as well as.

„ *dele* notes f and g (misplaced).

f. 29, l. 15, *for* Arundell *read* Arundel.

f. 30, last l. of note, *add* i. *after* 1708.

f. 31, *after* l. 6, *add* The Countess of Shrewsbury received from Louis XIV. a pension of 10,000 livres, “in order to fix Buckingham the better,” when that monarch was negotiating his second secret treaty with Charles II., signed February 2, 1670-1, by the latter. It was given to her on the proposal of the Earl of Arlington before January 1; and on November 9 the Marquis de Croissy, French Ambassador in London, had the satisfaction of informing the Marquis de Lionne, Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs at Paris, that the lady, on receipt of her pension, said “she would make Buckingham comply with King Charles in all things*.”

f. 32, l. 18, *after* the House of Lords *insert* on the petition and complaint of Francis, Lord Brudenall, her brother, and others—first presented to their Lordships on

* Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, 1773* (Appendix, Review of Events after the Restoration), ff. 81, 82.

January 31, and then subjected to an extended debate—ordered him to cease, &c.

f. 33, note l, l. 1, "Cullen [i.e. Colin] with his Flock of Misses" reads in some editions of the State Poems "Court Misses," as in the index to that here quoted from.

f. 35, l. 18 (and f. 36, l. 1), *for* Knowle *read* Knole.

f. 47, l. 13, *after* Leicester *insert* and of Burwell, co. Lincoln.

„ ll. 19, 20, *for* Lady Lyster, &c. (continued in f. 48) *read* Lady Lyster was buried at Burwell, November 28, 1669; Sir Martin, August 29, 1670.

f. 49, note i, *for* Ibid. *read* Lives, &c., and *after* Her *insert* printed.

„ „ l. 2, *dele* f. 73.

f. 50, note k, *for* 58 *read* 59.

f. 53, last l, *for* Halfnaked *read* Halnaker.

f. 61, l. 17, *for* Miss *read* Mrs.

f. 62, l. 6, and note o, l. 1, *for* Miss *read* Mrs.

f. 63, ll. 9, 16, *for* Miss *read* Mrs.

f. 65, *after* l. 15, *add* Before the death of her husband, and in the months of August and September, 1669, Cosmo, Prince of Tuscany, on his return home from England, made at Paris the acquaintance of Lady Hamilton; and in a letter addressed to Sir Bernard Gascoigne, his friend and countryman, then resident in the kingdom he had just quitted, on the 14th of the first-named month thus alludes to her and to her sister-in-law: "I have paid a visit to the Countess de Grammont, sister to Mister Hamilton, and to her sister-in-law; they are undoubtedly the most beautiful women of this Court;" and on the 10th of the following month he desires Sir Bernard to thank Sir James,

whom he again calls Mister Hamilton, for the great kindness the Count and Countess de Grammont have shewn him; adding as a P.S. to this request, "They gave me a splendid supper, with fine music and amusements^b."

f. 67, l. 1 (and ff. 68, l. 16; 71, last l.; 82, l. 1; 83, ll. 9, 18), *for* St. Germain *read* St. Germain.

f. 68, l. 14, *add* She had found a second husband in Patrick, son and heir-apparent of Sir John Bellew, Baronet, of Barmeath, co. Louth, whom she also survived.

f. 79, l. 3, *add* note. In Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, 1859, iv. ff. 102, 103, are views of Roch Castle from S. and E., plans of ruins of Tower, and ruins of Castle and its outworks.

f. 80, ll. 11, 12, *dele* Richard his heir, another son named.

f. 83, *after* l. 5, *add* The child, as soon as born, was by way of concealment placed in the house of a merchant named Claes Ghysen at Schiedam, a mile from its native town, and in charge of an English nurse; whilst its mother's residence was that of Mr. John Harvey, nephew to the celebrated Dr. William Harvey, who in 1656 is found residing at Antwerp, and of whom we shall have occasion hereafter, as a subject known to his Sovereign, to mention, where she was provided with a gentleman attendant, in addition to other servants. A singular circumstance befel the little boy at this time. Lucy Walter, accompanied by her gentleman, one day when proceeding to Schiedam made a lengthened call upon a friend, which necessarily liberated her attendant from her service for

^b Original Letters *penes* the Cavaliere Cattani Cavalcanti of Florence, a descendant of Sir Bernard Gascoigne, translated from the Italian by his late wife's sister, Miss Elizabeth Ker Wilson, of Genoa.

a time. Having obtained her leave to employ it as he would wish, he made for Schiedam, whence, pretending he had been sent for that purpose, he carried off the child, and of course did not return to his mistress. Waiting till night, when fully convinced that all was not as it should be, she, in company of a gentleman who kindly proffered her his assistance, went on her journey. Discovering on its termination what had been done, her grief was so uncontrollable, that she tore both her hair and her clothes. Fancying that her child had been taken from her to be forwarded to England, some enquiry from thence having been made concerning it, she the same night posted to Maeslandsluys. Here, on arriving the next morning, *she* fell in with the Mayor of that town, about, with one of the lords of the States, to take boat for the Hague. He at once ordered a search to be made for the infant, who was not recovered until ten or twelve days after, when, found at Loosdymen, it was restored to its distracted mother^c.

f. 91, note d, line 2, *after* house *insert* "one Harvie," who was.

f. 92, l. 15, *for* Proctors *read* Protectors.

„ l. 20, *after* the King's child *insert* Whilst residing in London she received much Cavalier attention, and we are further told, was served at table upon the knee^d.

^c An Historical Account of the Heroick Life and Magnanimous Actions of the most Illustrious Protestant Prince James, Duke of Monmouth, 1683, ff. 9—12. The author of this pamphlet gives Lucy Walter as a lodger to *Mrs. Harvey*, *mother* of the celebrated physician who died in 1605. Ireland's History of Kent, vol. ii. p. 167. That Mr. John Harvey resided in Holland we learn from Berry's Pedigrees of Essex, ff. 24, 25, and from Manning and Bray's History of Surrey, vol. i. f. 402.

^d An Historical Account of the Heroick Life, &c., f. 9.

f. 93, note c, *dele* and Inner.

f. 94, l. 7, *for* 1665-6 *read* 1655-6.

„ l. 9, *for* 1656 *read* 1655.

f. 107, l. 5, *for* her *read* a friend of hers.

f. 108, ll. 2—4, *dele* of Lucy, &c., *down to* Restoration (*with* note d), *and read* Of Lucy we have little more to tell; her wretched life was now closely drawing to an end. We have shewn that she was alive on August 29, 1658. Colonel Chester has met with an important document, in the form of an administration entry in the register of the Prerogative Court, which confines the day of her death—erroneously affirmed by James II. to have taken place after the Restoration^e—within the space of three months. The following is a literal copy of the record, which here appears in print for the first time:—

“December, 1658.

“Lucy Walter On the sixt Day issued forth Letters
al's Barlow of Ad'con to Anne Busfeild wife of John
 Busfeild y^e Aunt and next of Kinne of
 Lucy Walter al's Barlow late in y^e parts
 beyond y^e seas, Spinster, Dec'd. To ad^{te}
 y^e goods, ch'ells and debts of y^e sayd
 Dec'd. Shee being first sworne truely to
 Administer &c.”

„ l. 5, *for* Dowling *read* Downing.

„ ll. 5, 6, *dele* and Alsopp the King's brewer.

f. 109, *after* l. 3, *add* The place that we are disposed to assign for her interment is the Huguenot cemetery in the Fauxbourg St. Germain, Paris, where, in 1675, monumental

^e Macpherson, i. f. 77.

inscriptions to the memory of English Protestants, with the years 1650, 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 70, might be read. Confiscated by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, signed October 2, 1685, when the immediate destruction of the churches of the Huguenot devotion was decreed, its site has long since been converted to secular uses. Its register of burials, wanted to confirm or disprove our assumption, cannot now be traced.

„ last l. *after* Mrs. Fanshawe *insert*, alive in May, 1695^f.

f. 110, *after* l. 5 *add* In 1689 Mr. Fanshawe presented a petition to William III., setting forth “that the petitioner, having married the late Duke of Monmouth’s sister, had right to 1000*l.* per annum in Ireland, and a pension of 800*l.* a-year in England. That the petitioner, having prevailed with his wife to quit the Romish religion, he lost the said pension, and was turned out of the office of Master of Requests and Com^r of the Alienation Office, which he purchased. That some time after King Charles the Second, commiserating his condition, granted him 400*l.* per ann., which was paid till the said King’s death, since which he had not received any; and had lately recovered 300*l.* a-year in Ireland and judgment for 700*l.*, which is at present lost by the Revolution there. The Petitioner’s wife was then in child-bed, and they and their five children threatened to be turned out of doors for not paying their rent. Praying the King to continue payment of the said 400*l.* a-year, and to order him some money for his present relief^g.” This petition was on April 27 referred to the Lords of the Treasury, who

^f Calendar of Treasury Papers, Domestic Series, William and Mary, i. f. 443.

^g Ibid., f. 36.

on August 27 ordered £50 out of the Secret Service Fund to be paid Mr. Fanshawe^b.

„ ll. 6—19, *dele from* Of Lucy's two brothers to early life (*with* note m), and *read* Lucy's brother, Mr. Justus Walter, wholly disappears after 1656, unless it was he who stabbed Tom Howard. That she had no brother living on February 22, 1663-4, when Alsopp, the King's brewer, in a conversation with Pepys, assigned "a place at Court" to such a relation of hers, and assumed that he would, so preferred, "talk very broadly of the King's being married to his sister"—designated by him also "a common strumpet"—the records of the Prerogative Court before mentioned incontrovertibly testify. The brewer, who further informed Pepys, as a fact well known, that the lady had parted with her virtue before her connection with the King, may have supposed that William Walter, Esq., whose name is not in the 1660 list of Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber¹, but is in that of 1663¹, was her brother. Concerning Richard, who erroneously takes the place of Justus in Admiral Tucker's Walter pedigree¹, we have this to account. He is described, &c.

f. 111, l. 20, *for* who died *s.p.*, and two daughters who also died *s.p.* *read* who married Dorothy, daughter of John Barlow, Esq., of Lawrenny, co. Pembroke, by Anne his wife, daughter of Sir Hugh Owen, 2nd Bart. of Orierton, same co., and died S.P.; and a daughter Bridget, the wife of Benjamin Stokes, Esq., of Haverfordwest.

f. 113, l. 8, *add* note to "Parry." Sir George Parry,

^b Minute-Book of Treasury Papers, i. f. 96.

¹ Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Series, Charles II., i. f. 459.

² *Ibid.*, iii. f. 201.

¹ *Vide* f. 80, note f.

D.C.L. and Recorder of Exeter, knighted May 12, 1644, may have been the knight.

f. 114, ll. 19—21 (continued in f. 115), *dele from* At Cashiobury is a half-length portrait of her *to* name unknown, *and read* At Dytchley, the seat of Viscount Dillon, is a painting 5.3½ by 3.9, in which Lucy Walter, a full-length figure, and her son, are represented as a Madonna and Child! The mother is seated, and holds the child—who stands upon a carved table, and is naked, with the exception of a piece of white linen round his loins—against her head. She is habited in a high red dress, which has sleeves reaching to the wrists, and from her left shoulder hangs a blue scarf; this falls down her back, and coming round again over her knees, extends to her feet. Her head is covered with a light brown shawl, with two gold stripes, which hangs over her shoulders. In the background is a fluted column, some buildings and trees. Both mother and son have dark brown eyes and hair, and they very much resemble each other. The boy appears to be about one year old. The painting is inscribed “Lucy Walters and the Duke of Monmouth^m.”

A miniature of her was sold at Strawberry Hill in 1842 to the late Mr. I. M. Smith, the picture-dealer in Bond-street, and is now in the collection of the Duke of Buccleuch, K.G. In this she has a three-quarter face turned to the left of the spectator. A string of pearls is round her neck, and another twined in her hair. Of her dress, one sleeve and part of the bodice is shewn. Size about 3½ in. by 2½ in. Another is in one of the bedrooms at Windsor Castle—numbered in William Chiffinch's Cata-

^m Inf. Capt. the Hon. Harold Arthur Dillon, F.S.A.

logue of the Pictures of Charles II. and James II. (printed by Bathoe in 1758), 1170. A "curious" half-length portrait by Honthorst—Number 429 in the same Catalogue—was in all probability destroyed in the fire at Whitehall, in the gallery of which palace it hung, on January 5, 1698-9.

f. 115, ll. 18, 19, *for* it is the only engraving we have of her *read* and is one of the two engravings we have of her. The other, by Scriven, for Carpenter, may be from the Windsor Castle miniature. The lady in the last-mentioned engraving has a pearl necklace, but no string of pearls twined in her hair.

SUNDRIDGE, SEVENOAKS,

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